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ATLAS

OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION

English version by
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The striking perfection of the heads and of the general composition of Greek coinage have made it the model for all coins and medals even to the present day. 1/ Tetradrachma from Caulonia, VIth cent. 2/ Tetradrachma from Athens, VIth cent. 3-4/ Tetradrachma from Syracuse, late Vth cent. 5-6/ Tetradrachma from Naxos, ca. 450. 7/ Tetradrachma from Pergamum, Hellenistic.

[cf maps 1-3]

THE THREE ROOTS

HELLAS

sea without mist or tide, full of little islets; poor, tortuous valleys, planted with vines, olives and fig-trees, straggling down to a coast heavily indented with bays and peninsulas; an inaccessible hinterland; and in the valleys and beyond small compact cities which are connected to each other almost solely by the sea-routes – such is the land where our civilization began.

It was a city civilization. The miracle took place in the *poleis*, the cities, and the national pride of the Greek was centred primarily on his native city. Two things gave the Greek world its characteristic appearance, two things which stand out at once from the map of the archaic Greek world: colonization and the Homeric poems.

Colonization is the first great fact in Greek history. The sea called them and the hunger for land drove them. Commercial success followed later, and eventually, when the wealth began to stream into the mother cities, and the Greeks had driven the Phoenicians out of the eastern half of the Mediterranean (the Phoenicians still held the western half – see map), there remained the urge to achieve and to discover more than all other nations. The Greeks were everywhere, from the three-cornered island, Trinakria, the modern Sicily, to the west coast of Caucasia. Their colonies bordered on widely separated shores, and sometimes on shores opposed to each other, and there were a few remote outposts. But although so eager for the new and the unknown, the Greeks remained everywhere true to themselves – they called the non-Greeks 'barbaroi', that is 'jabberers'.

The interallied cities were made conscious of their unity through their common language, and above all, through that amazing masterpiece, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, composed in an artificial dialect based on Ionic Greek. The Homeric poems express a way of life that belongs to the Greeks themselves, and yet which shows them as typical human beings whom we today can understand. For although the Gilgamesh is for us too extravagant, and the Egyptian Book of the Dead grandiose and alien, we can recognize ourselves in the characters of Homer, except that they belong to a simpler and an older world.

The Homeric poems created not only the first consciousness of a Greek nation, but also the national personalities of the Gods. The Gods are royal dynasties, elevated in divine beauty, but always human, and totally unlike the overwhelming cosmic dieties worshipped in the gloomy temples of the East. The Greek religion is perhaps that very aspect of the Greeks which we can least understand today. But we must distinguish three very different elements.

Firstly, the ancient local rites, which were sacrosanct, although they had often changed their original significance, or lost their significance altogether. But the existence of the city, the family, and the individual depended upon them. To neglect their performance was to incur the sin of hubris, or pride to deface the sacred things was unforgivable. This fear of sacrilege, and honour for higher and unknown powers, themselves subject to an obscure Fate, constitutes one of the genuine and human moments of Greek life, and as such has its value for us. Socrates, who saw through the Greek mythology, nevertheless kept up the religious rites. The fact that he made his offering of a cock to Asklepios at the very moment he was to suffer death on a charge of atheism, was an act of piety and not just the performance of a quaint custom.

The second element, the mythology, was indeed a poetic game, just as the Golden Legend was in the Middle Ages, and everyone recognized it as such.

A third element was the philosophical religion, which eventually dominated the mysteries – for the secret initiation rites, such as the highly honoured Eleusinian mysteries, were originally a fertility mystery, and specifically

Greek. This philosophical religion was also expressed by such tragic dramatists as Aeschylus, and in sach poems as the hymn of Cleanthes. It was entirely an affair of the élite and brings us to the summit of natural religion.

Though of foreign origin, the mysteries of Dionysus, with their orgies and frenzied trances, were spiritualized by orphism. Pythagoras, the sage of Croton, preached the life attuned to cosmic harmony. The national athletic and poetic competitions had also something of a religious significance. They took place next to such 'panhellenic' sanctuaries as Delphi and Olympia. The ancient drama, too, had a ritual origin, like the mystery plays of the Middle Ages.

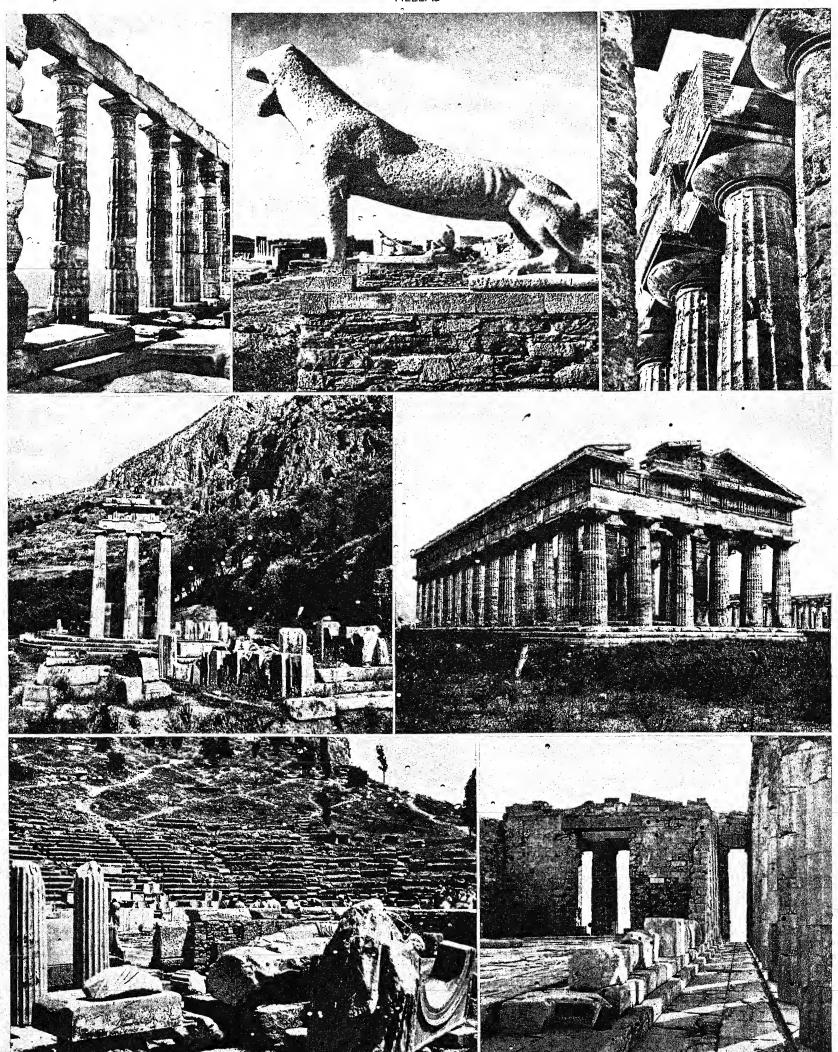
Industry, art, and literature all begin in Ionia. From the same region also come the pre-socratic philosophers, the so-called natural philosophers, who were the first to give us an explanation of the universe which owed nothing to the ancient myths – Thales, Anaximander (who drew the first map), and the rationalist Xenophanes, founder of the school of Elea in southern Italy. Poetry, from its very beginning, was essentially individualistic; it sang of the personal life and the personal passions. We of today can understand at once the voices of Sappho, Alcaeus, Archilochus and Anacreon. As for architecture, the ruins of the gigantic Doric temples still stand in the great centres of the archaic Greek world, in Sicily, at Paestum, and even in Hellas itself, and they serve to remind us of that decisive and supremely Greek achievement, the creation of an architecture with columns and architraves, triumphing over the inertness of matter.

At the zenith of the Greek world (maps 2-3) Athens, the capital of Attica, is the unrivalled centre. Though the masterpieces of their archaic art - charming figures of young people, kouroi and korai - were buried under the rubble left by the Persians in 480 B.C., the evolution of the plastic form was not hindered. On the same spot, the Acropolis, there arose within a few years the Parthenon, the Propylaca and the Erechtheum. From thence came the numberless statues which the Ancient World could never forget, although we today know many of them only through second-rate copies. They are statues which move us as much by their superhuman beauty as by their calm, assured naturalness which poses no problems, has no 'message' to express, and is 'non-predicative', as Curtius says.

At Athens lived virtually all the great thinkers of the age, including those porn elsewhere. Their names will be found on the map, grouped around the famous schools which they founded and which flourished after them. They are, the decisive names for all ages: Heraclitus, Democritus, Anaxagoras, Socrates; then, a generation later, Plato, Antisthenes, Diogenes, and Epicurus; finally, Aristotle, 'the master of those that know', as Dante calls him.

Classical tragedy begins when Aeschylus introduced a second player between the reader and the chorus. Sophocles and Euripides follow, and somewhat later the ebullient, topical comedy appears. At Athens too, in 430 B.C., Herodotus publishes his unrivalled history of the past. But there is no point in describing further what is already on the map.

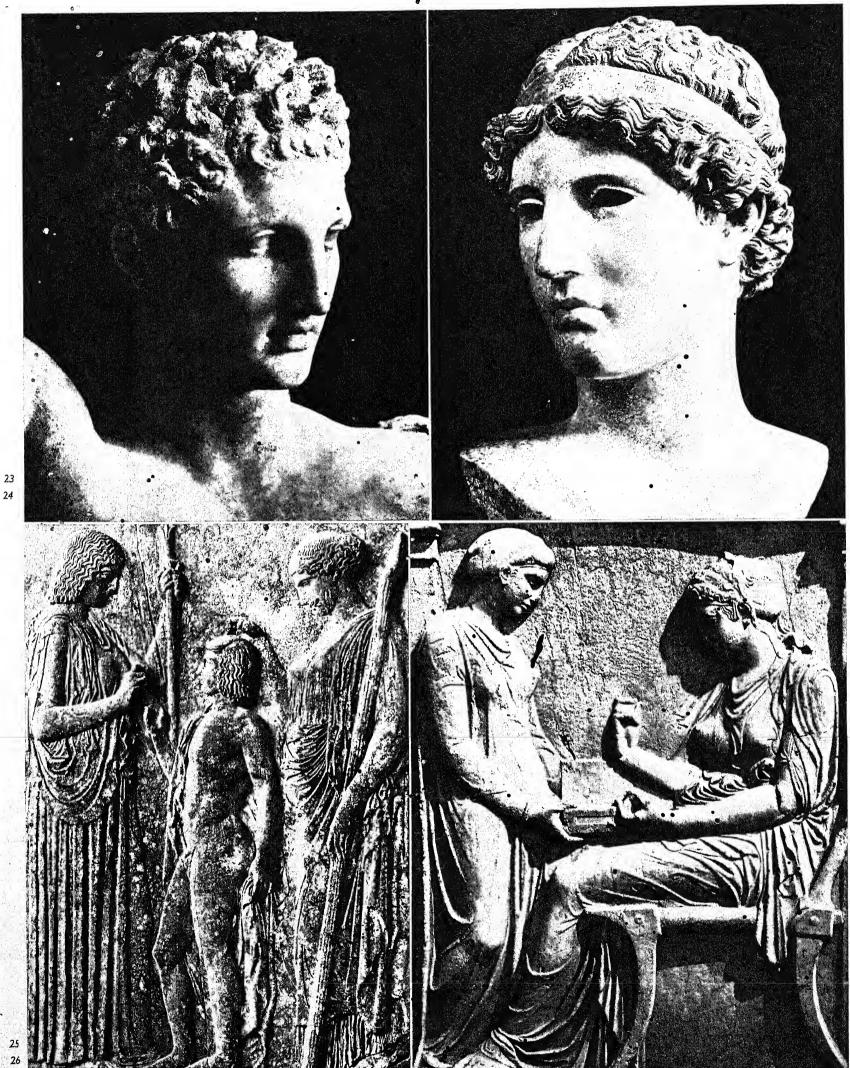
What do we owe to the Greeks? Primarily that we are ourselves, that we are human beings worthy of the name, for all humanism goes back to the Greeks. The Greek of the fifth century is not awed by the universe. He has nothing to do with magic and has no fear of the stars. He submits calmly to Destiny, piously fulfils the traditional rites, but none the less weaves beautiful legends around his gods. He orders the sum of his experience around a single point, man. Order, the typical work of the intellect, was the true passion of the Greek. For his oriental neighbours the universe was a plaything of implacable gods. For the Greek, however, it was a cosmos, a perfectly ordered, mensurable entity, that could be explored and expressed in mathematical terms.



On certain parts of the coast, on the islands, in the old centres of Ancient Hellas — Olympia, Delphi, Delos, Milete, and the Sicilian towns — and especially on the Acropolis, there still stand the weatherbeaten relics of Greek architecture, now faithfully preserved. But the sculpture is missing and the colours have faded. The temple is merely an empty space strewn with the debris of columns and pedestals; the celebrated Statues and groups are usually only known to us through Roman copies. 8/ Temple of Poseidon, Cape Sunion. 9/ Delos, archaic lion. 10/ Temple of Ceres, Paestum. 11/ Delphi, ruins of the tholos, 400-390. 12/ Temple of Poseidon, Paestum, one of the best preserved Doric temples of the Vth cent. 13/ Athens, Theatre of Dionysus, 350-324. 14/ Athens, the Parthenon; on the right the northern colonnade, 447-438.



15/ Head of blond youth, Museum of the Acropolis, Athens, 480. 16/ Protocorinthian vase with black figures, Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia, From Veji, Vith cent. 17/ The Kore of Euthydicus, Museum of the Acropolis, Athens; like no. 15, an example of the transition from archaic over-refinement to classical. 18/ The Ludovisi throne, rear view, with Birth of Aphrodite, 450-440. Rome, Museo delle Terme. 19/ Part of the Parthenon frieze, with Poseidon, Dionysus and Demeter. By Phidias, before 432. 20/ Attic krater with multicoloured figures: Hermes brings the young Dionysus to Silenus; such vases give some idea of the great masterpieces of painting which have been lost. Rome, Vatican. 21/ The Apollo of Olympia, Vth cent. 22/ Detail of the krater from Orvieto: the Argonauts. In red. 480.



23/ Head of Hermes, by Praxiteles(?). This famous statue, representing the young god Hermes with the child Dionysus on his left arm, is not nowadays considered to be an original work of Praxiteles, but is thought to be a good Greek copy, from a later period, of the famous IVth cent. statue. 24/ Head of Athena Lemnia. Bologna, Museo Civico. Excellent copy of a famous Vth cent. statue. 25/ Relief with the gods of Eleusis: Demeter, Kore and the young Triptolemus, 445. Athens, National Museum. One of the few documents relating to the Eleusinian mysteries. 26/ Funeral stele from Hegeso. The deceased with a servant holding her jewel-case. Vth cent. Necropolis near the Dipylon gate, Athens. [cf. maps 1-3]



27/ Niobe and her youngest daughter. Roman copy of a late Vth cent. original. Florence, Uffizi. 28/ Nereid on a sea-horse, acroterium from the Temple of Asklepius at Epidaurus, ca. 375. Athens, National Museum. 29/ Artemis. Roman copy of a lVth cent. original. Paris, Louvre. 30/ Cnidian Aphrodite, detail. Roman copy of an original by Praxiteles. Rome, Vatican. 31/ Mars Ludovisi. Roman copy of lVth cent. original. Rome, Museo delle Terme. 32/ Head of an athlete, bronze, late Vth cent. Paris, Louvre. 33/ Niobide (?). Roman copy of a Vth cent. original. Rome, Vatican. 34/ Sophocles. Roman copy. Typical statue of an author (cf. no. 36). Rome, Lateran Museum. 35/ The Winged Victory of Samothrace. Paris, Louvre. 36/ Demosthenes, Roman copy. Rome, Vatican.

Such expression was made possible by the concept of Ideas-realities solely intuitable and perceptible in the abstract -upon which depended all complex, concrete, ordered and significant things. 'The creation of Ideas', says Valery, is the outstanding European achievement'; it is the first definitive attempt to give order to our universe. Plato, who brought the concept to fruition, was not only a thinker, but a great artist, infinitely sensitive to the symbolic significance of the smallest details. It is this which enables him to express imperishably and unforgettably his fundamental insight into the structure of reality. The Greeks were not only a free and critical people, they were also innate artists.

That they considered themselves free, and were critical of their environment, is a fact which may or may not admit of further explanation. At any rate, there was in the poleis (at least for the freemen), a liberty, a liveliness of intellect, and an intelligence sufficient to enable them to achieve innumerable political experiments - first the primitive royal clan with a subject people, then an oligarehy, and finally a democracy. Indeed, their vocabulary for these things is ours today. The same may be said of their attempts to determine, order, and systematize the universe. The principles of geography, history, natural science, anatomy, medicine, psychology, grammar, prosody, politics, logic and philosophy are Greek creations with which we today have still to deal, and which we use as the basis for further study. 'The Jews demand signs, says the Scripture, 'but the Greeks seek for wisdom.' There lies their eternal glory, for all its implicit limitations. They were obsessed by the exact sciences: mathematics, theoretical physics, and philosophy. They had no interest in applied science, for although their knowledge of nature was great, their power over it was slight. They simply wished to bring their world-picture into focus, and to order the chaos of impressions into an anthropocentric cosmos.

As artists, too, the Greeks were only concerned with the expressions of Man. They built no pyramids, nor sombre caverns, but open, colonnaded temples around the sublime - but human - statues of their gods. The column itself is the most human, the most un-material architectural motif.

In literature, likewise, it is always Man: nature is only lightly sketched in as a background. Their incomparable language, too, maintains the same dualistic character, the same wonderful tension between the concreteness of the poetic, and the precision of the abstract. It is a language rich in archaic concrete terms and differentiated verbal forms, and at the same time possessing abstract terms capable of the most subtle shades of distinction. Even in their language we feel that obsession of the Greeks for the human person. The language, for example, of Aristotle's Ethics or of the tragic choruses, is as rich in psychological terms as that of the great French moralists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

What we surely owe to the Greeks is the discovery of the absolute value of the human personality, as against, if need be, the gods, the social group, and the state. But this autonomous human personality is a moral being; the ideal of the Greek has nothing in common with the unrestrained Superman. Theirs is the ideal of ethical perfection, or sophrosyne, as they called it, a combination of knowledge, moderation, and self discipline. The enormous ambitions of Alcibiades and Alexander are un-Greek. But the individual must be free. 'The best social order,' says Aristotle, 'is that which gives to each man the greatest opportunity of success and happiness.' That sounds aristocratic; the Greek ideal is in fact that of an élite, of a superior caste. It presuppos ses the privilege of birth, of fortune, of education (paideusis), or at least of hereditary intelligence. None the less, the State never had an absolute value for the Greeks; Sparta remained a monster, though sometimes a monster to be admired. And when later the political freedom even of the élite was lost, and when, through their rivalry, the Greek cities perished and were absorbed by totalitarian states, the consciousness of liberty remained as an inalienable right for the whole of the ancient world. The light of freedom, first lit by the Greeks, was never more to be put out.

Greek ciwilization had its dark side too. There was no political unity comparable to the delicately balanced federation of cantons that was later developed in Switzerland. There was no system of education, and it can be said that in the end the artistic and literary culture supplanted the philosophical, the rhetorician triumphed over the sage, Isocrates ousted Plato. Greek ethics was too aristocratic and inconclusive, and it needed the resignation of the Stoics to prevent it from falling into excesses. That even the élite were not immune from such excesses is shown from the famous passage in the Epistle to the Romans. Manual labour was despised, and though slaves were not badly treated, no one condemned slavery, and the entire culture was the possession of a privileged few.

But the positive side remains a glorious achievement. The concept of humanity, dignity, freedom, and law; the heroic life; a narrow but genuine patriotism; and the cult of reason joined to an insatiable thirst for knowledge and beauty. No wonder that mankind looks back again and again to this miracle of pure, dispassionate human creativity.

As for the surviving remains of Greek art, they give us but a poor and arbitrary impression of the reality. Mankind is more fortunate in what it still possesses of Greek literature and philosophy, though it is but a small part, and sometimes only the fragment of an entire oeuvre. But everyone knows today that it is impossible; even with the best will in the world, to form an impression of the paintings of Polygnotus and Zeuxis solely from vases 20/22 or the mediocre derivatives of Pompei. And in spite of imposing ruins, it is equally difficult for us to visualize a Greek temple, brightly painted, set in a forest of statues and votive gifts, and rising above the skyline of a small citadel, or crowning the summit of a rocky coastline. Even the marbles and bronzes, with their vacant eye-sockets and their colourless surface, remain for us enigmatic and untrustworthy monuments. It would be hard for a Greek of the fifth century to recognize what we see today.

THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

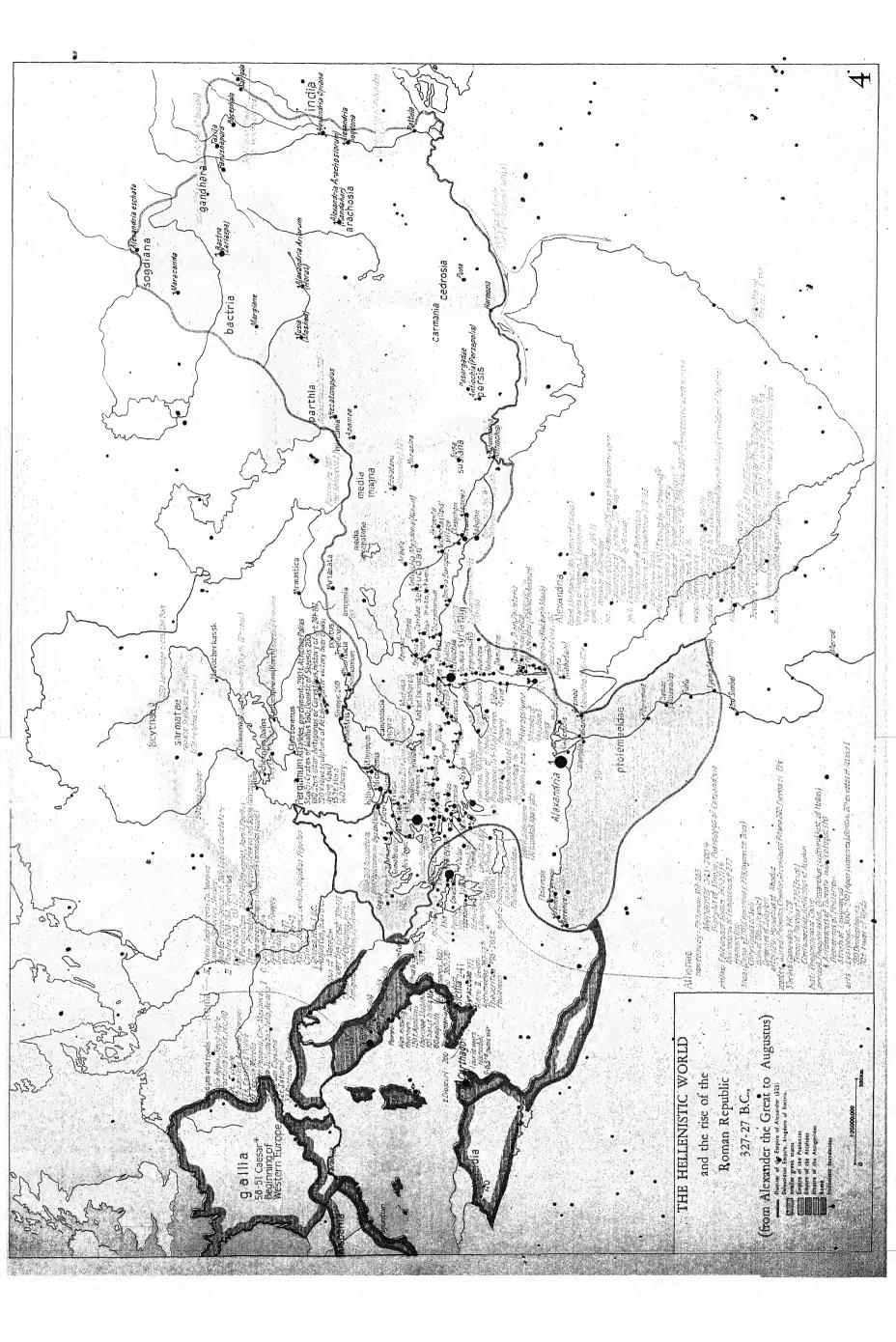
The map of the Hellenistic world (map 4) gives a general picture of the spread of Greek civilization from about 300 B.C. to the time of the Emperor Augustus. This expansion was a result of Alexander the Great's conquest of the East. For although Alexander's empire immediately collapsed, the menace of the Persian East, which had never ceased to weigh upon the Greek world at its zenith, disappeared to make way for the irresistible spread of Greek

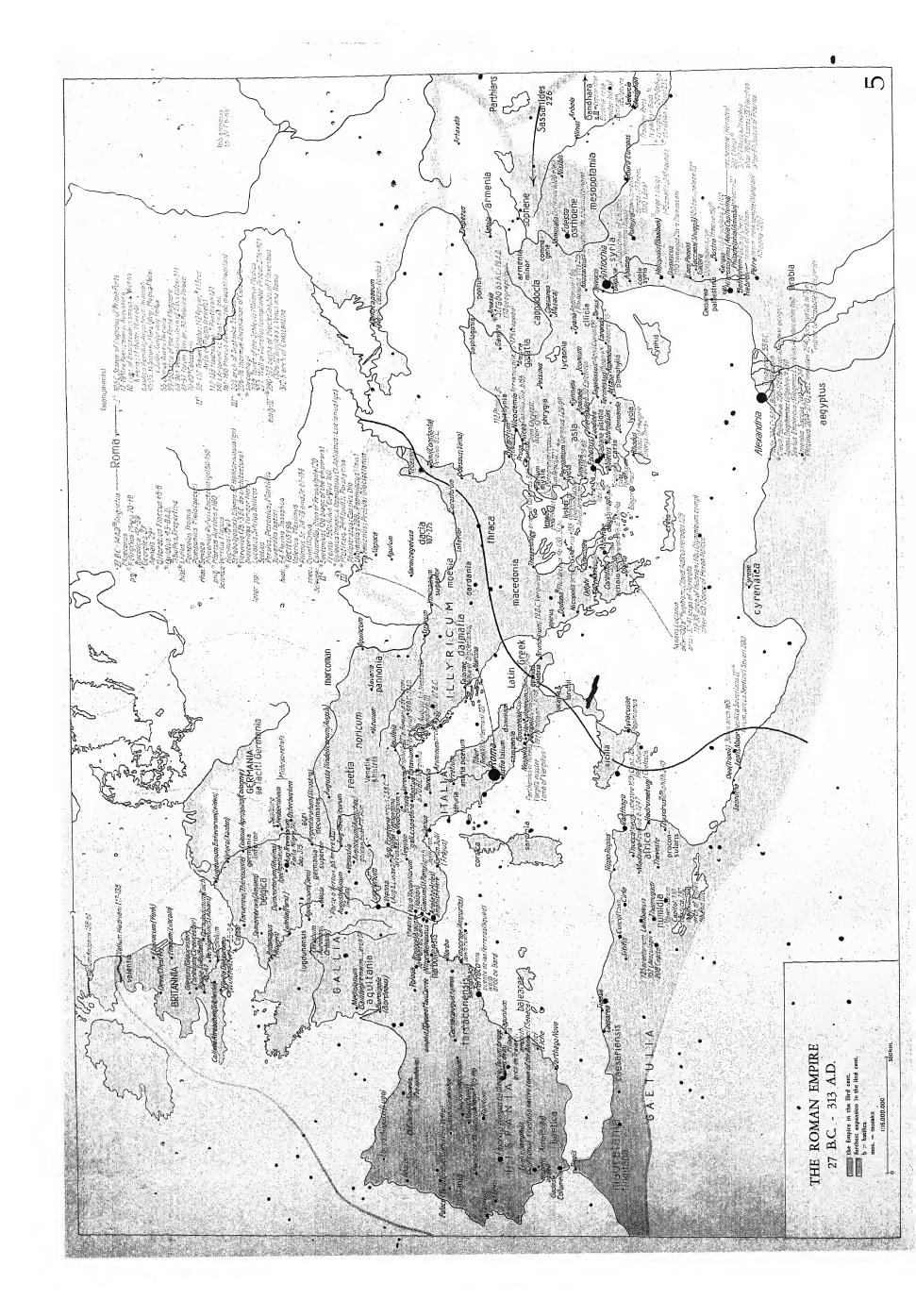
The most striking factor is the foundation of the new cities. They are everywhere, from Carenaica to Bactria and the Indus. Outside Athens, which maintains its reputation, the principal cultural centres are Rhodes, Pergamum, Antioch, and Alexandria - the latter soon to become the centre of learning of the Hellenistic world. The élite, however, who consciously maintained the urban Hellenic tradition in these centres, were only partly Greek themselves; in the second century Polybius calls the Alexandrians 'mongrels'. But the fact remains that a uniform civilization, based on the Greek cultural heritage; extended itself over an enormous area, in a totally different political framework, and in the centre of an oriental world accustomed to a theocratic way

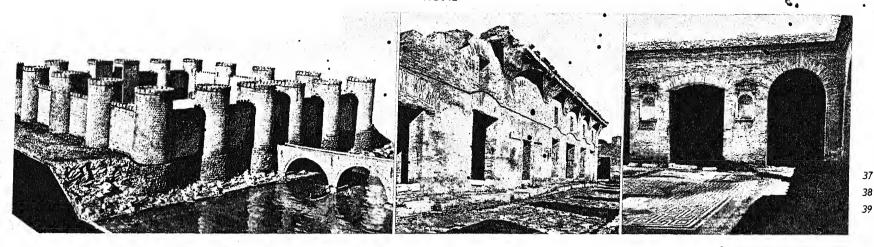
In place of the free poleis (which continued to exist in name), we find (as in the case of the Seleucidian Empire) a world empire with a deified ruler, 46-47 a swarm of officials, thirty million inhabitants, and a budget like a modern state. Because there was no single moral bond of unity between the subjects, the sovereign appeared as a divine saviour (Soter), for all to look up to. Withir the administrative framework, Hellenism became a levelling, quantitative culture. In place of the Attic and Ionic dialects there appeared the common language (hoine) of the soldiers, officials, merchants and rhetoricians. In place of the small poleis appeared great world-cities, all of a piece, with grandiose layout, colonnaded streets, drainage, well organized markets, theatres and libraries, and showy temples, basically the same, yet with endless and brilliant variations. In place of fine, unique monuments, came imitative and derivative architecture and innumerable reproductions of old masterpieces.

Literature has the brittle brilliance of the end of an epoch. It is the time of Isocrates, of the new comedy of Menander, and of the Alexandrian novels of 48-53 romance. In plastic arts, classical repose gives way to pathos and picturesqueness. Monuments are nothing more than monotonous reminiscences of classical models, and attract less attention than cabinet-pictures or works of a luxury technique, such as mosaics. Certain of the cities with their colonnades and agora are still partially extant. There is still much to be seen in Magnesia, Miletus, Pergamum, and Ephesus, and a little town like Priene can be visualized in its entirety. The work which fills the museums of the Mediterranean cities is for the most part Hellepistic art.

The glory of the period is learning. It was in a sense international, with its centre at Alexandria, where it was established under the aegis of the Ptolemies. Archimedes, Euclid, Apollonius of Perga, Eratosthenes and Herophilus, were all either natives or sojourners. By modern standards, it can be said that in the two centuries before Christ, learning was more a matter of systematization than of practical research. Such is certainly the case with philology. All culture belongs to a small class, and that explains the cult of Fortune (Tuche) and of Destiny (Heirmarmene), and also the popularity of astrology. This collture is also world wide, and Diogenes's word 'cosmopolites' becomes identical with an all-round civilized man. At the beginning of the era stand the figures of Epicurus, the moral pragmatist, and that of Zeno, the master of serenity, the father of the Stoics, who believed in a reasonable and benign Providence. By their imperturbable sense of duty and noble resignation to circumstances, the Stoics have not ceased to arouse the admiration of succeeding generations. In spite of its deficiencies, the heritage of Greek humanity was preserved in the Hellenistic world.







37/ Castellum, bridgehead at Deutz on the Rhine. Model. 38/ Tenement-house at the port of Ostia. 39/ Courtyard of the Horrea Epagathiana at Ostia, with mosaic pavement.

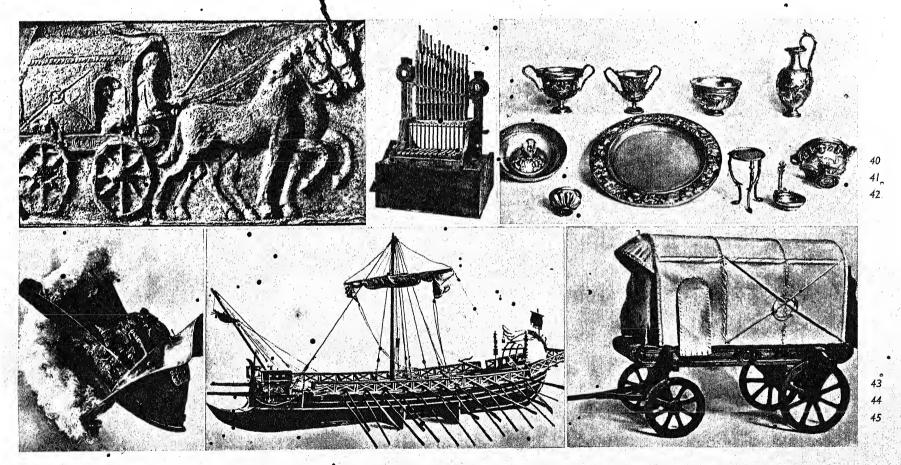
ROME

On the map of the Roman Empire (map 5), we find the entire Hellenistic world situated on this side of the Euphrates. On the western side, the Ancient World definitely includes a great part of South Western Europe and North Africa. Under Augustus, i.e. three hundred years after Alexander, the Mediterranean had become a peaceful lake on which the tall rigged ships could ply peacefully in the sunlight, under the pax romana. The ancient world is greater than ever, covered with a network of solid highways, along which the officials, merchants and savants journeyed within a single empire. They could use the official postal carriages, and in the more outlying provinces they could travel from garrison to garrison. Whether born in Scythia or Mauretania, the traveller spoke Latin in the west, and Greek in the east. More than a hundred million people lived together as a single community, venerating either Hellenic or exotic gods according to their particular ancestry, but all, at a different level, venerating the Emperor of Rome. If there was a disturbance anywhere, then the legions marched to the outpost to restore order and maintained the limes, or frontier. Beyond the frontier lay the barbarians troublesome, but always vanquished.

Such is the impressive picture of the Empire under Trajan or Hadrian in the second century A.D. No one can fail to realize that only a people of exceptional organizing genius could create such a world. That people, the Romans, were no artists or thinkers, but doers. The typical Roman is a man of

character and an organizer. His Empire was born from a small, solid agricultural and military state, with a strict ritual religion, a high middle class and family morality, and a zest for the immediately practical. St. Augustine asserted that if Providence had allowed the Romans to rule over the world, it was because of their 'civic virtues'. Their earliest writers to put the history of their great heroes on record, extol above all their virtue, the virtus of the man who gets things done, and they fill their narratives with stories exemplifying this. It is certainly no accident that no other aspect of Roman history (if we exclude the principle of the 'collegium' in the administrative system) has so much significance for later generations as the deeds and words – always short and to the point – of the half legendary Roman heroes of antiquity. Through the pages of Livy, the story of these heroes was passed on to the schoolchildren of the succeeding fifteen hundred years, and they have aroused the admiration of St. Augustine, as well as of Hildebert of Le Mans and Montesquieu.

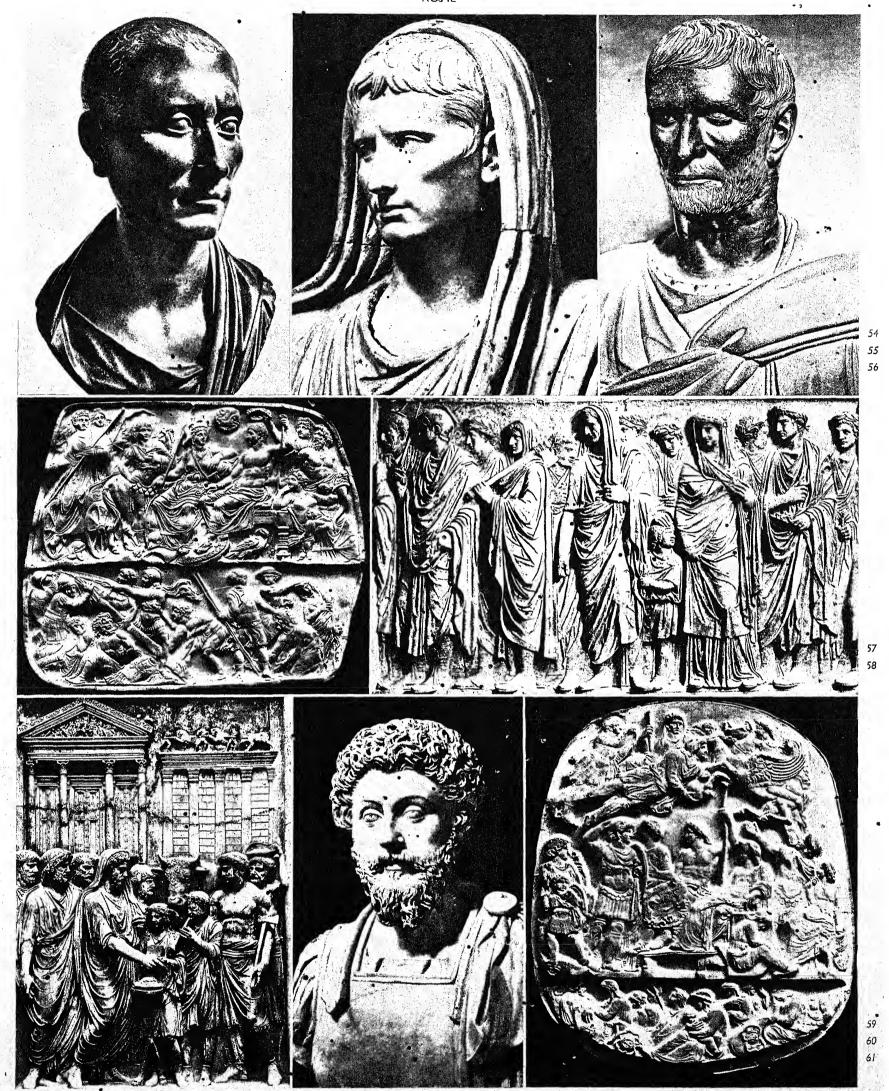
Besides his heroic past, the imperial Roman possessed also another moral inheritance: a selection of the most outstanding elements of Hellenic and Hellenistic culture, introduced into Rome after the Scipios and Cicero. By means of numerous Latin translations, it inspired the poetry of Lucretius, Virgil and Horace, to say nothing of the historians, and of the philosophical works of Cicero and Seneca. Thus was forged a new Latin classicism (so far,



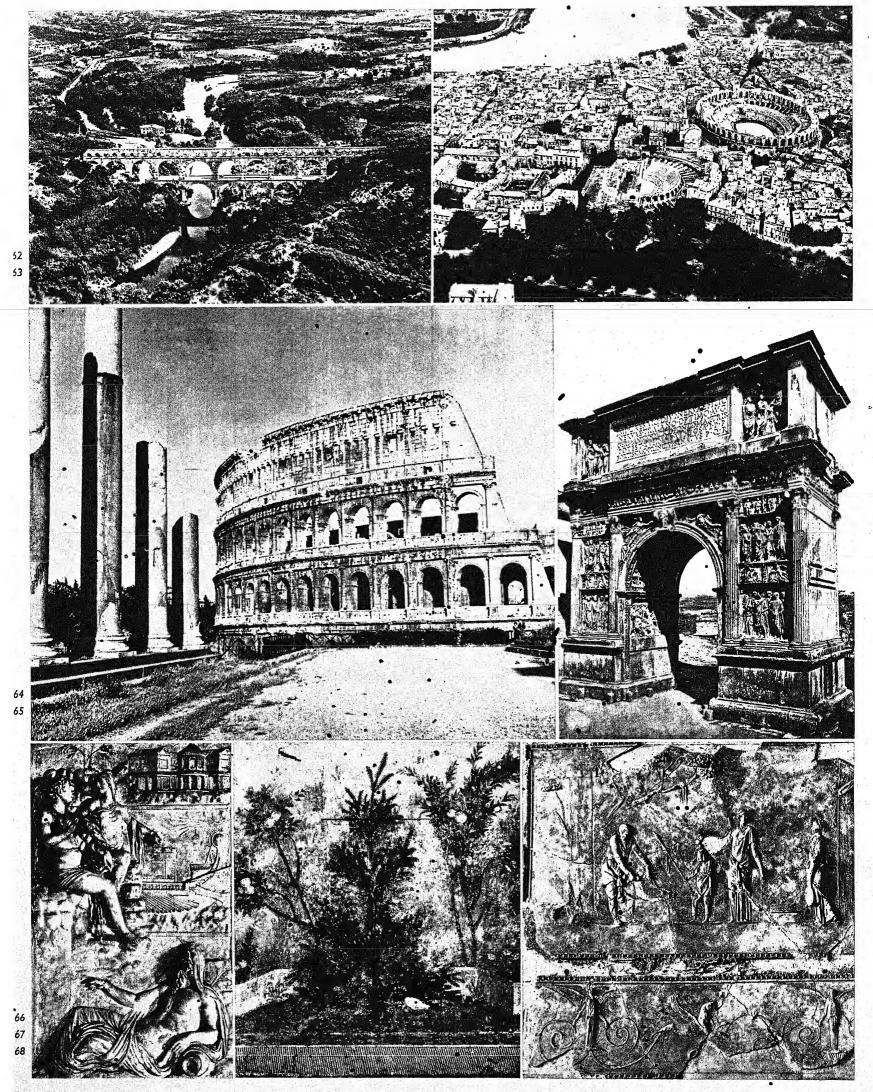
40/ Roman carriage. Roman relief. Klagenfurt, Maria Saal 41/ Roman Aeolian organ. Aquincum (Alt-Ofen, Hungary). 42/ Silver service from the Hildesheim Treasure. Berlin. 43/ Gladiator's helmet. Model. 44/ Roman naval galley. Model. 45/ Carruca dormitoria (travelling carriage). Model (cf. no. 40).



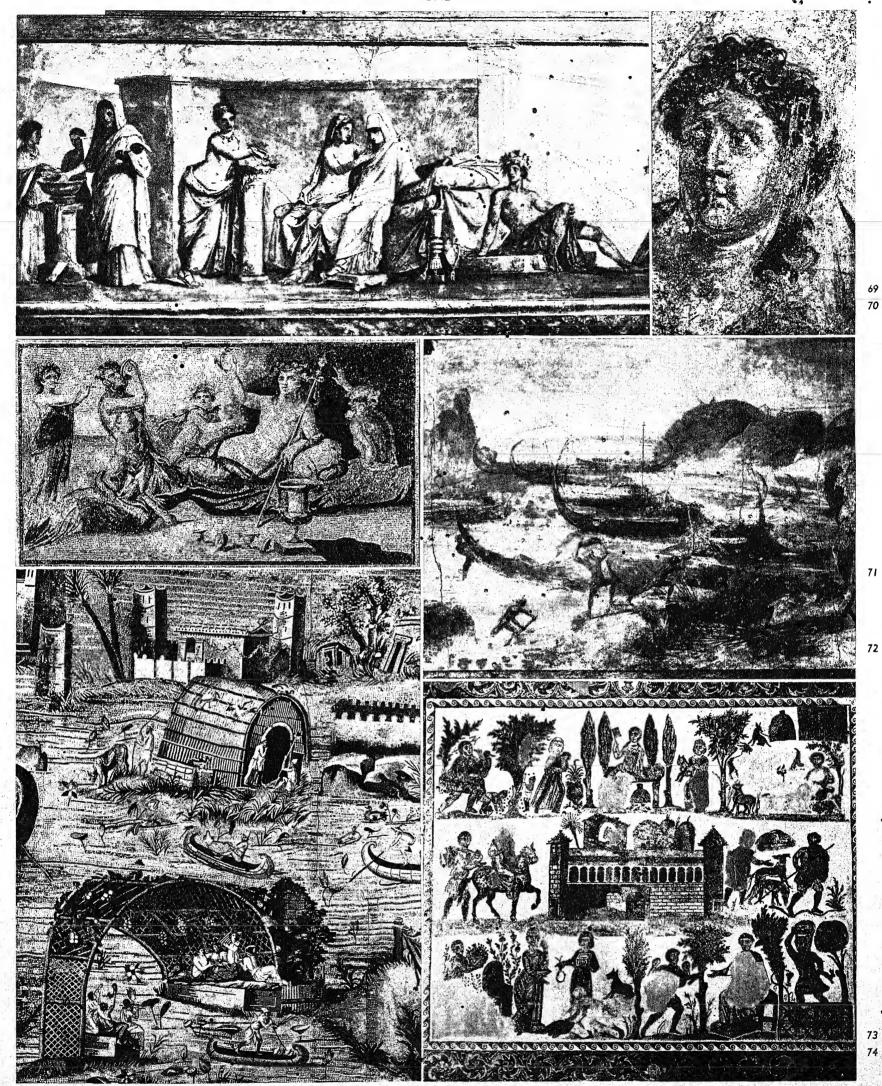
Typical Hellenistic art. 46/ On the colossal scale: Temple of Zeus Olympios at Athens. 174 B.C.-140 A.D. 47/ Even small towns had their theatre: Proscenium of the theatre at Taormina in Sicily. 48/ Genre work: Child with the Goose; after an Alexandrine work. Paris, Louvre. 49/ Pathos: The Death of the Gaul and his Wife. Roman copy of a group from Pergamum, Illrd cent. cf. The Dying Gaul, Rome, Museo delle Terme. 50/ Eros drawing his bow. Roman copy of a IVth cent. original, by Lysippus(?). Paris, Louvre. 51/ Realistic but slightly heroic portrait: Pyrrhus. Naples, National Museum. 52/ Pathetic realism: Head of a Hero, 1st cent. B.C. Paris, Louvre. 53/ One of the most realistic portraits of the Diadochi, perhaps Antiochus [cf. map 4]



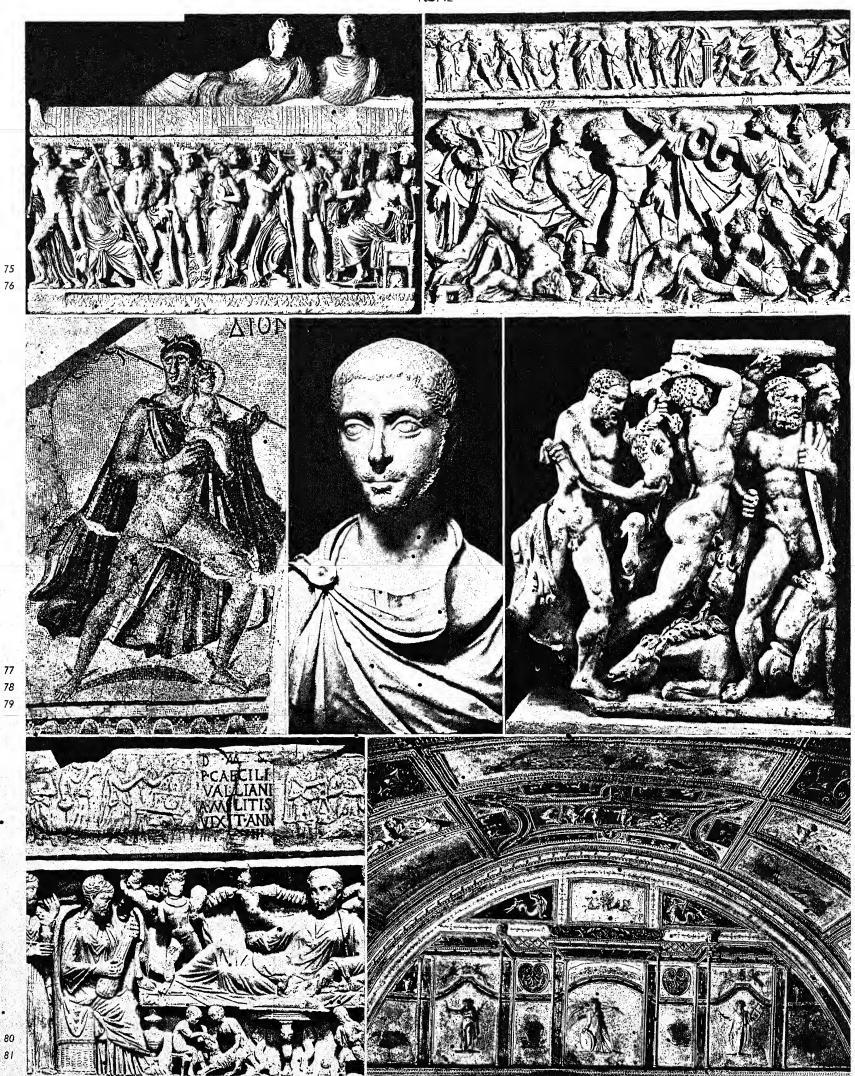
54/ Julius Caesar. Berlin. 55/ Augustus as Pontifex Maximus. Rome, Museo delle Terme. 56/ Bust of Brutus(?). Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori. 57/ The 'Gemma Augustea' (cameo). Under the sign of Capricorn, Augustus is crowned by the Orbis Romanus (the civilized world); on his left the Ocean, the Earth, and the Imperial Eagle; on his right Germanicus and Tiberius stepping from a triumphal chariot; below, soldiers, raising a trophy among the conquered Pannonians. Vienna, National Museum. 58/ Detail, of the frieze on the Ara Pacis: the imperial family surrounded by priests. 59/ Marcus Aurelius sacrificing on the Capitol. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori. 161-80. 60/ Marcus Aurelius. Rome, Museo Capitolino. 61/ The 'Grand Camée de France'; Apotheosis of Augustus and his family. Centre: Tiberius, Livia, Germanicus, Antonia, Caligula, Agrippina, Drusus and Livilla. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles.



62/ The Pont du Gard, near Nîmes (Gard, France); combined aquaduct and bridge. 63/ Arles, the Roman Arelate, with theatre and amphitheatre (right). 64/ Amphitheatrum Flavium or Colosseum, Rome. 70-80. 65/ Arch of Hadrian at Beneventum in Campania: perfect specimen of official imperial art. Note monumental inscription. 66/ Paris and the nymph Oenone; below, her father, the river-god Kebren: example of the 'Alexandrine' idyllic genre. Note the landscape, architecture and galley. Rome, Palazzo Spada. 67/ Prima Porta, near Rome, fresco of the Villa of Livia: example of elaborate interior decoration and of detailed observation of nature. 68/ Mural in stucco from a house (the 'Farnesina') in the Trastevere, showing scenes borrowed from the cult of Dionysus. Rome, Museo delle Terme. [cf map 5]

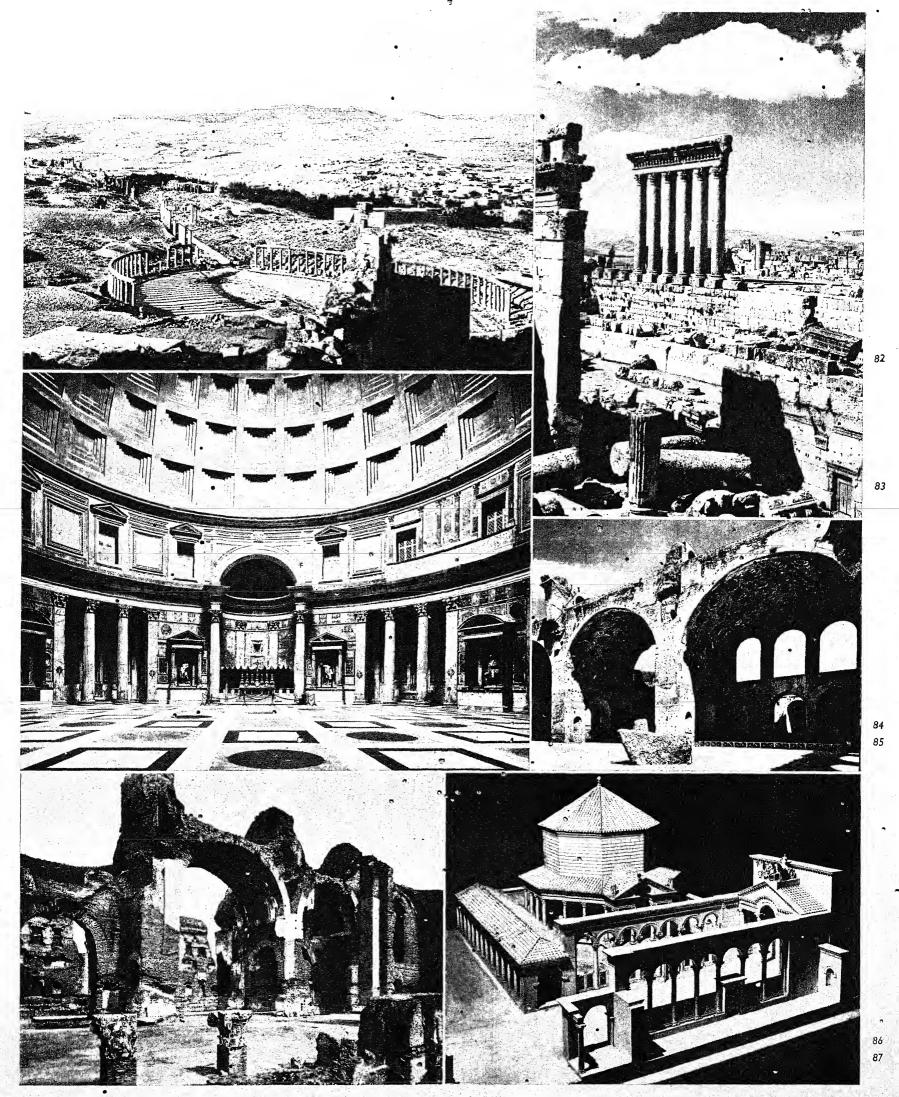


69/ Left and centre portion of the Aldobrandini Wedding, mural depicting the preparations for a marriage ceremony. Rome, Vatican. 70/ Head of Achilles, detail of the fresco 'Achilles recognized by Ulysses among the daughters of Lycomedes', mural after a Greek original from a house at Pompei. Naples, Museo Nazionale. 71/ Mosaic from a triclinium at Daphne, a suburb of Antioch; the Banquet of Hercules and Bacchus, with Silenus and a fluteplayer. Ca. IInd cent. 72/ Destruction of the fleet of Ulysses (one of the 'Ulysses landscapes'). Rome, Vatican. Example of illusionistic painting (cf. no. 70). 73/ Detail of a mosaic from Palestrina, depicting Nile landscape. 74/ The Four Seasons in the countryside at a Roman villa in N. Africa. Mosaic. Tunis, Musée du Bardo.

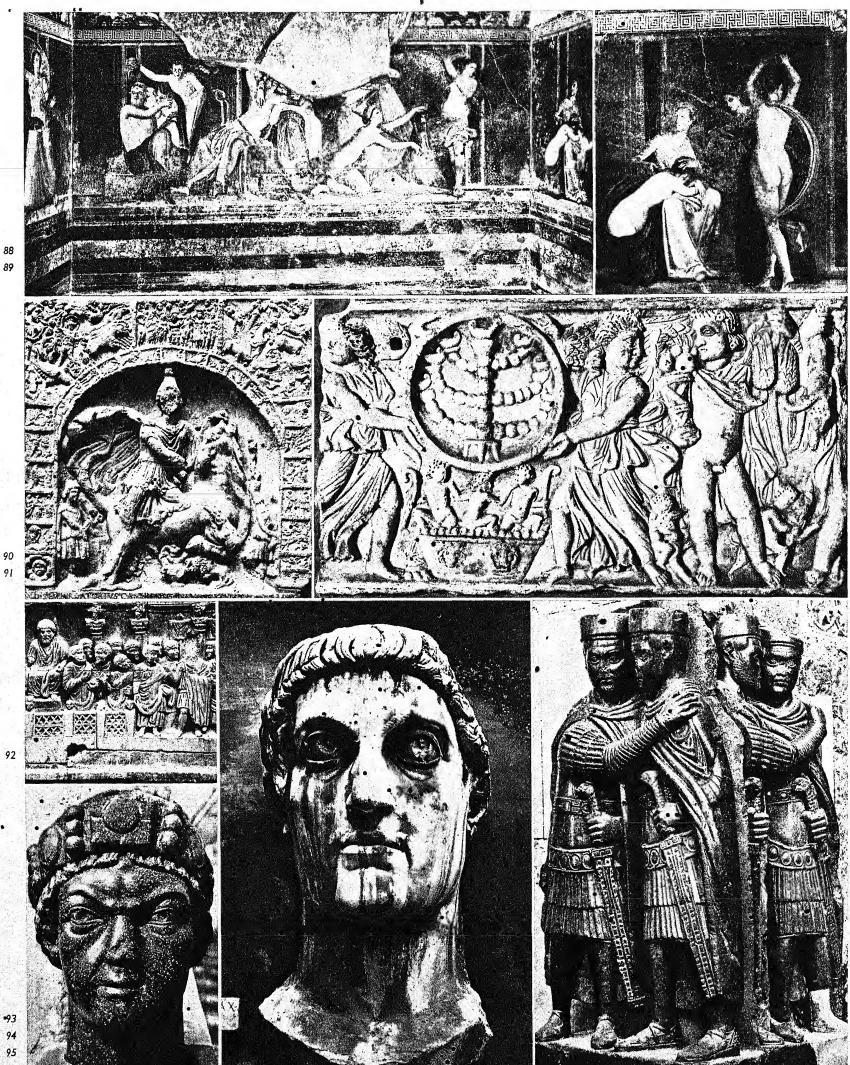


75/ Sarcophagus with the effigies of the deceased and the allegory of Achilles preferring the heroic life to the effeminate life of the court of Lycomedes, 193-211. Rome, Museo Capitolino. 76/ Sarcophagus with the myth of Orestes. Rome, Lateran Museum. 77/ Mosaic pavement from a bath at Antioch: Hermes carrying the young Dionysus. Late Illrd cent. 78/ Bust of Alexander Severus. The vacant, staring mask is typical for the whole Illrd cent. Rome, Museo Capitolino. 79/ Fragment of a sarcophagus, with the Labours of Hercules: example of Illrd cent. baroque effects of light and shade. Rome, Lateran Museum. 80/ Fragment of sarcophagus, with funeral banquet and allegory of life dedicated to the Muses. Rome, Lateran Museum. 81/ Stucco decoration of a funeral vault in the tomb of the Anicil, on the Via Latina, Below, Silenus, Victoria and Apollo,

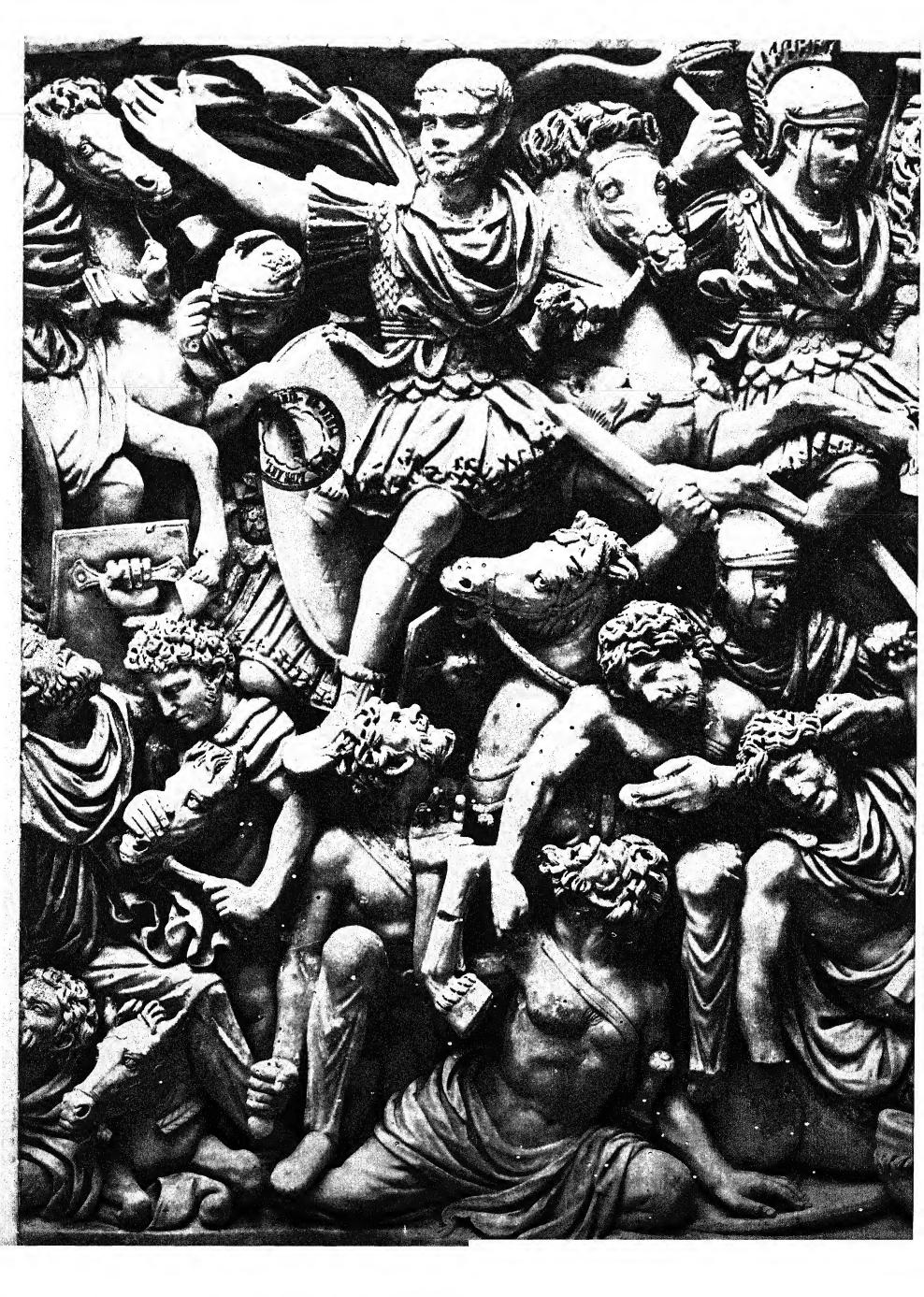
[cf. map 5]

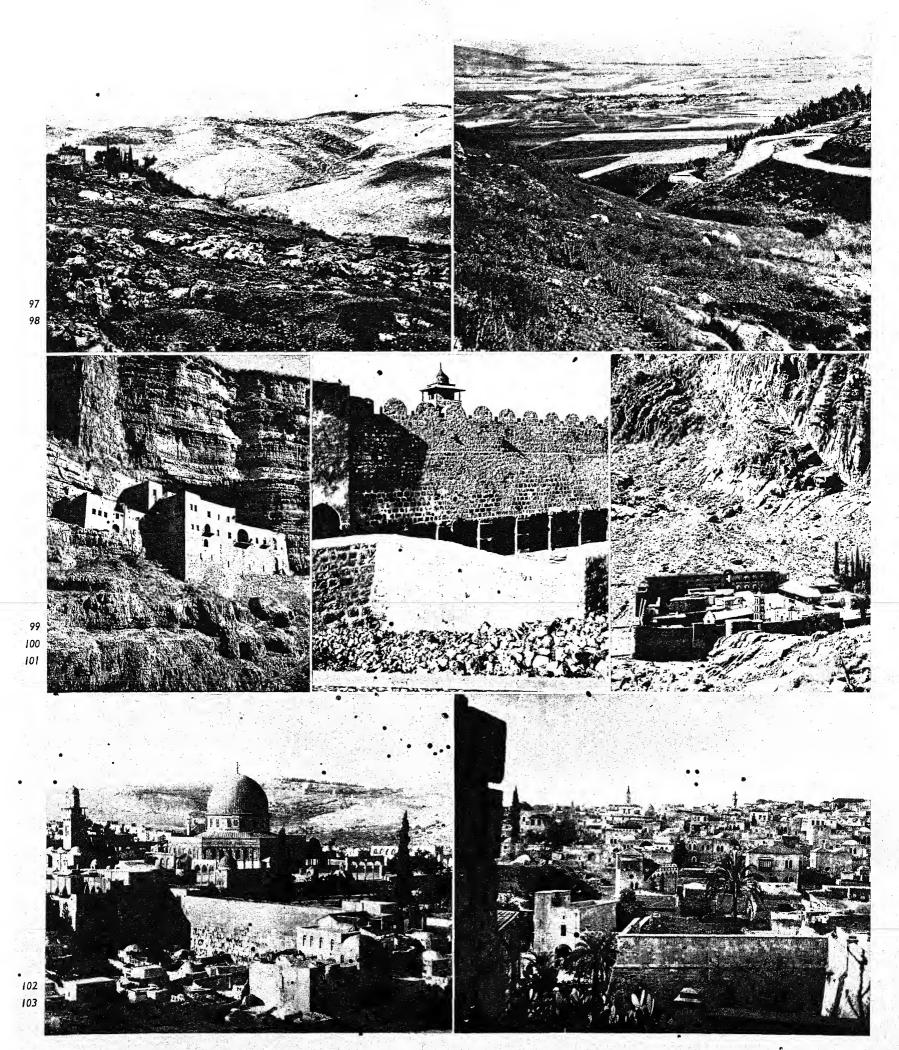


82/ Djerash in Transjordania, the ancient Gerasa, with its imposing Roman ruins. 83/ Baalbek, the ancient Heliopolis, with the gigantic ruins of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and other Roman sanctuaries of lesser importance. 84/ The Pantheon at Rome, 120-125, preserved almost entirely intact. Walls 6 metres thick, height and breadth 43 metres (height of Amiens Cathedral 43 metres, height of Dome of St. Peter's 119 metres). 85/ Basilica of Maxentius, completed by Constantine, 306-320, with concrete walls and vaults; span of arches 23 metres. Rome, Forum Romanum. 86/ Baths of Caracalla, ruins of centre portion, 206-216. Rome. 87/ Spalato (Dalmatia), Mausoleum of Diocletian in the centre of his palace, ca. 300. Model. Note the arcades resting on columns in place of the classical architrave (cf. no. 83).



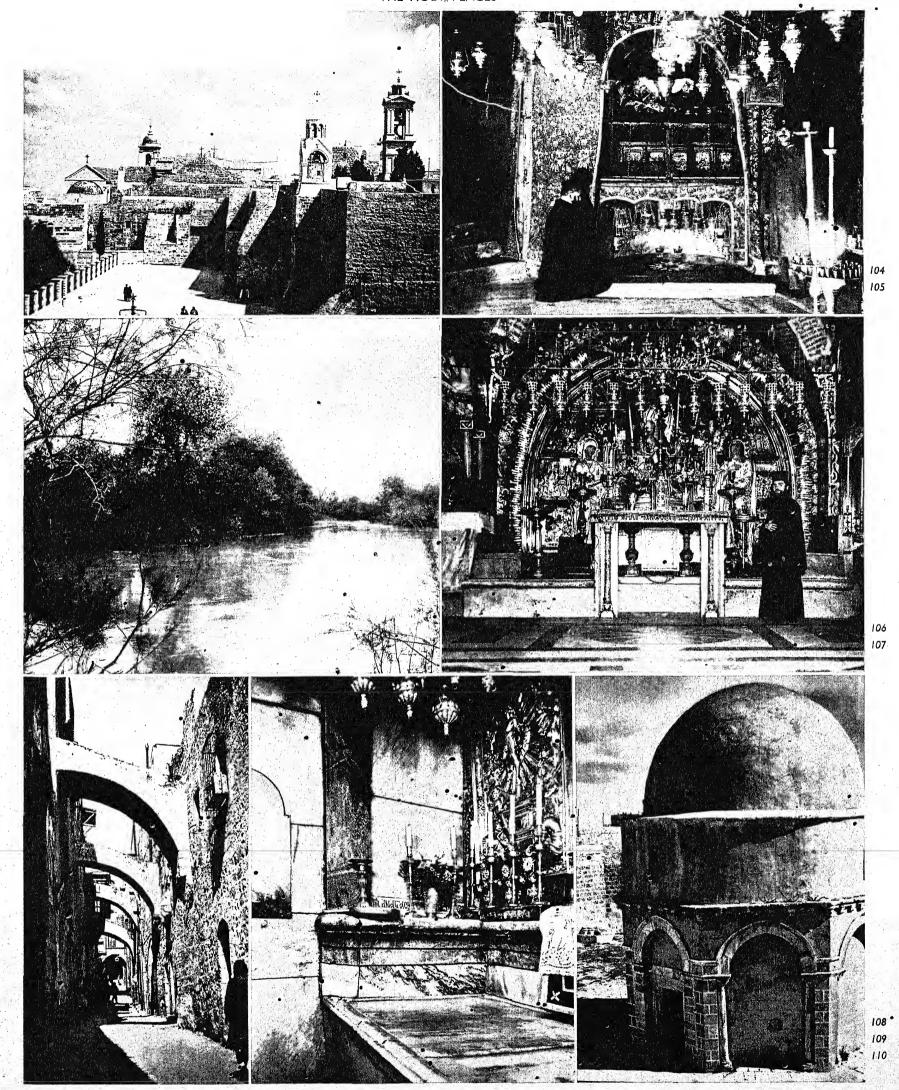
Religion and Emperor-worship. 88/ Fresco at Pompej depicting the initiation rite of the mysteries of Dionysus. 2nd half of Ind cent. B.C. 89/ Detail from no. 88, 90/ Votive stele depicting the god Mithra slaying the bull and surrounded by other episodes from his life. Found at Osterburken in the Odenwald. Karlsruhe. 91/ Jewish sarcophagus with the genii of the Seasons grouped round the seven-branched candlestick. Rome, Museo delle Terme. 92/ Fragment from frieze of Constantine's Triumphal Arch (the Emperor on right), 312-315. Example of hieratic style. 93/ Head of the Emperor in porphyry, of uncertain date (IVth, VIth or Xth cent.). Venice, St. Mark's. 94/ Head from a colossal statue of Constantine. Rome, Palazzo Capitolino. 95/ The Four Tetrarchs. Porphyry, ca. 300. Venice, St. Mark's. Opposite page: 96/ Detail from a sarcophagus depicting a Roman general during a battle with the barbarians. IIIth cent. Rome, Museo delle Terme.





97/ View over the hills of Judaea. 98/ Landscape in Galilee: the Plain of Esdraelon, near Nazareth. 99/ Wâdi el-Qelt near Jericho. This deep gorge runs from the Plain of Jerusalem to the Dead Sea, which is below sea-level. In the foreground is the Greek monastery of Hagios Gerasimos. 100/ The great mosque at Hebron, built over the tombs of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and surrounded by a wall built by Herod the Great shortly before the birth of Christ. 101/ The convent of St. Catherine at the foot of the summit of Mt. Sinai; below, to the left of the tower, the basilica built by Justinian in the VIth cent., with mosaic of the Transfiguration in the apse. 102/ Jerusalem, Haram-al-Sharif: square built on the foundations of the Temple of Herod, with Mosque of Omar of VIIth cent. (cf. nos. 202-4). 103/ Jerusalem, the old city.

[cf. maps 6-7]



104/ Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity. The church (centre, without tower) was built under Constantine and rebuilt under Justinian (for interior of. no. 129.) 105/ Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity, interior of the Grotto of the Nativity. The Greek altar stands on the spot considered to be that of the Nativity. 106/ The Jordan, at the spot traditionally considered to be where the Baptism of Christ took place. 107/ Jerusalem, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Greek altar stands on the summit of the Rock of Calvary. 108/ Jerusalem, the Via Dolorosa, the street that since the middle ages has been considered to be the Way of the Cross. 109/ Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The altar within the small edicula from the XVIIIth cent., built on the site of the 'memoria' of Constantine inside the rotunda of the Anastasis, of which only a small wing has been preserved (cf. no. 135). 110/ Jerusalem, small mosque on the Mount of Olives on the site of the Ascension.



Portraits of Christ 300-1200. 111/ The earliest, unhistorical type, depicting the eternal youth of the Word (Logos): detail from a IVth cent. sarcophagus. Lateran Museum, Rome. 112/ The more historical type: the bearded Teacher throned in the Heavenly Jerusalem amidst the twelve apostles; detail from a IVth cent. sarcophagus at Arles. 113/ The historical type, probably connected with the legend of the portrait sent to King Abgar of Edessa. Detail from a mosaic in the apse of Sta. Pudenziana, Rome. Ca. 400. 114/ Persistence of the youthful type: the Lord crushing underfoot the Lion and the Serpent (Ps. 90). Mosaic in the chapel of the archbishop at Ravenna, VIth cent. 115/ The Pantokrator, the forceful Deutero-Byzantine type. Cathedral at Cefalù (cf. no. 364), XIIth cent. 116/ Palermo, Cappella Palatina, XIIth cent.

at least, as the Romans were concerned), worthy of the source from which it had sprung. Cato the Elder may have despised the 'graeculi', but the educated Roman of the Empire sent his children to schools where Greek was learnt first, and where even the Latin authors were studied according to Hellenistic methods. In fact, in the strict sense of the word, the whole Latin culture was dependent upon the Greek. It has been said, and rightly, that the schoolmaster's rod was mightier than the sword and fasces of the militaristic Roman Empire – for the Empire crumbled, and the school remained.

The Romans were in their element when they could build, order, make laws, and rule. They were also past masters in the art of portrait painting and in whatever went towards the creation of an official propaganda art for the Empire. As for architecture, they excelled in arches and vaulting, and they used the Greek orders only as decorative elements. Whoever sees the enormous ruins of their baths, forums, and amphitheatres, and compares them with the simple, elegant and variegated Greek buildings, realizes that in comparison with the idealistic and perfectionist Greeks, the Romans are but clever businesslike engineers.

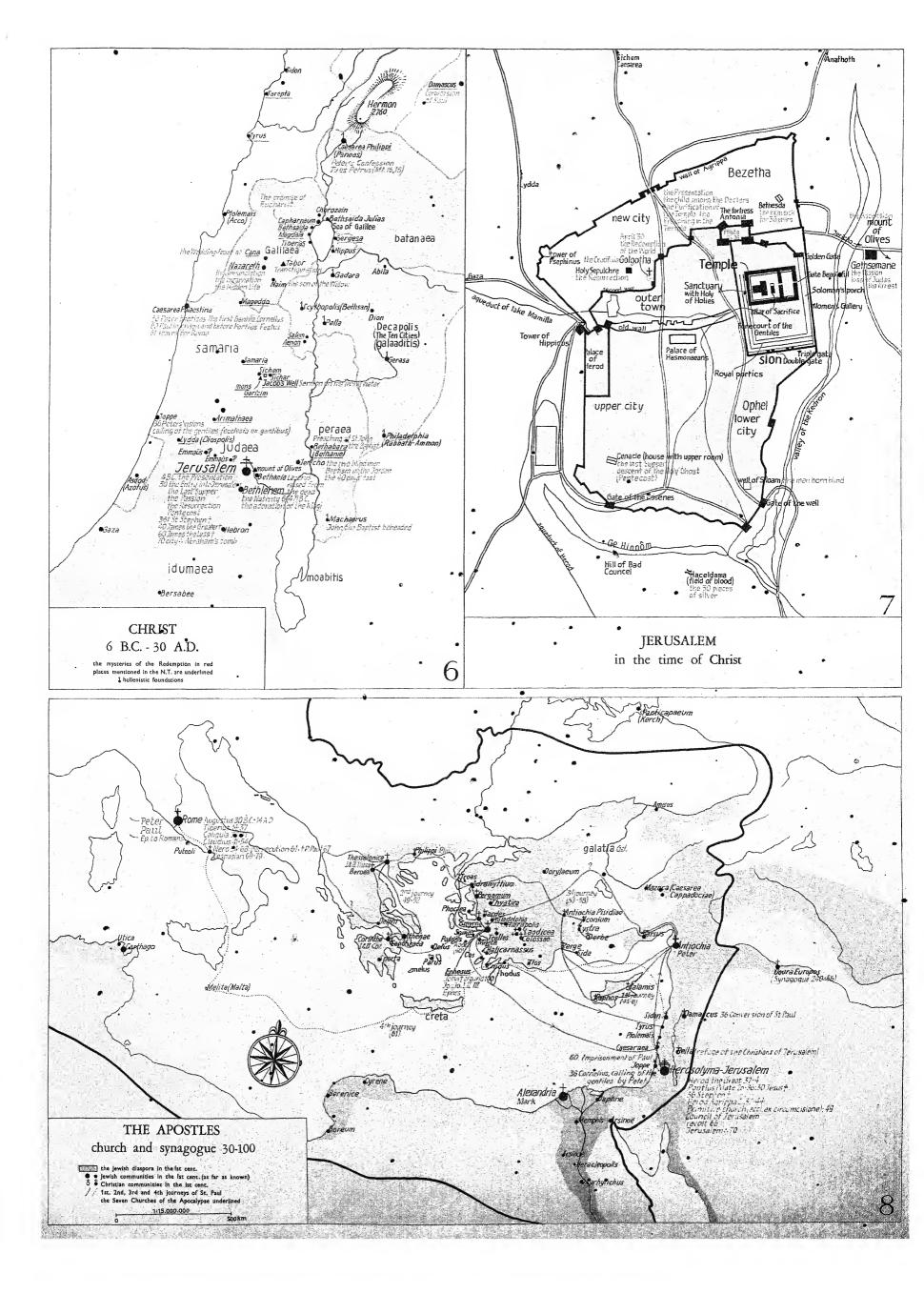
The Roman portraits, especially those of the time of Augustus, compel our respect for the couple of thousand aristocrats who ran the Empire, and they make us feel something of the majesty which surrounds the Roman name. What impresses us most are not the idealized figures on the Attic model which were so prized a hundred and fifty years ago, but rather these testimonies to the realism and self-knowledge of the Romans. The portraits of the later Empire too, which herald the inevitable Decline and Fall, attract our attention

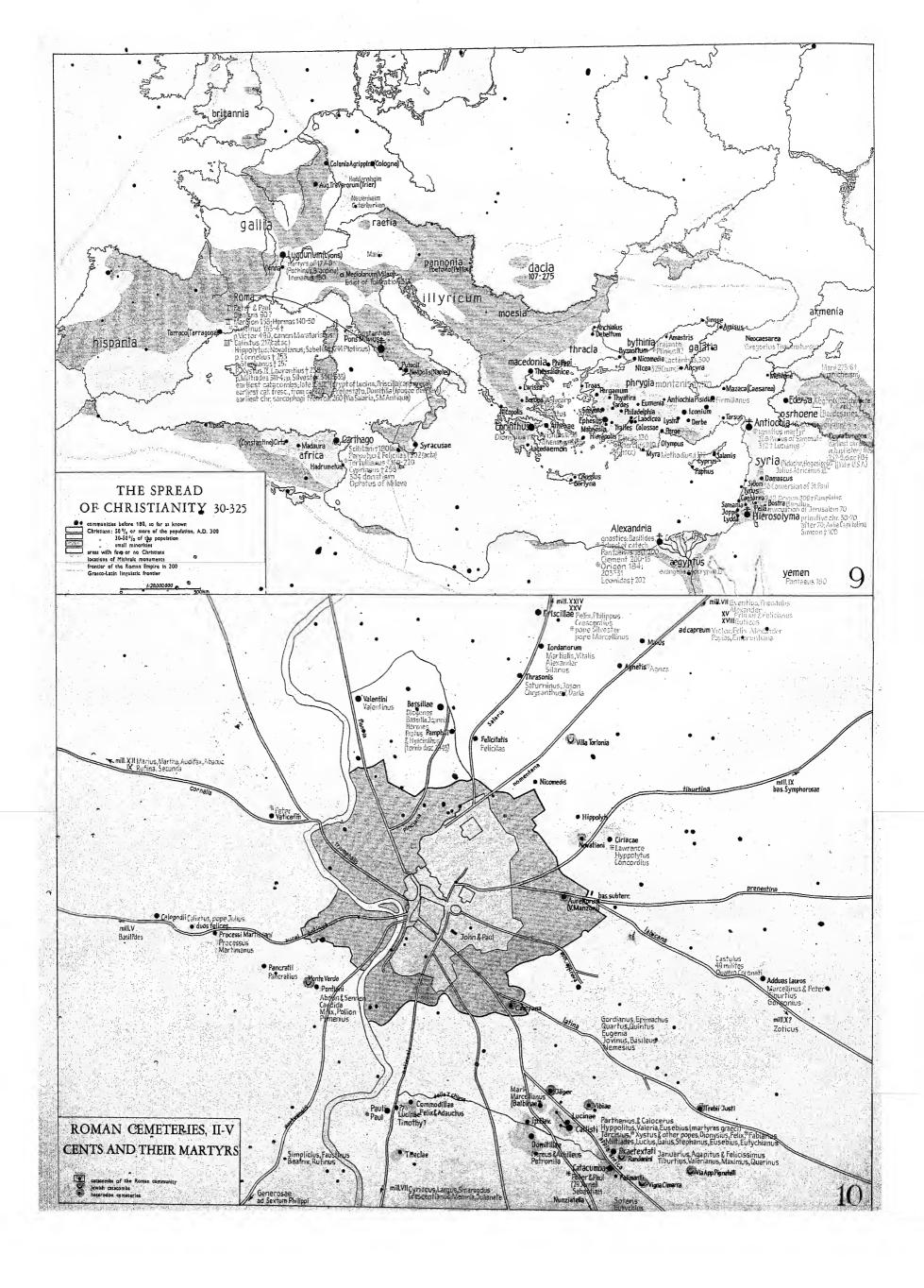
most strikingly today as the first documents of mediaeval expressionism.

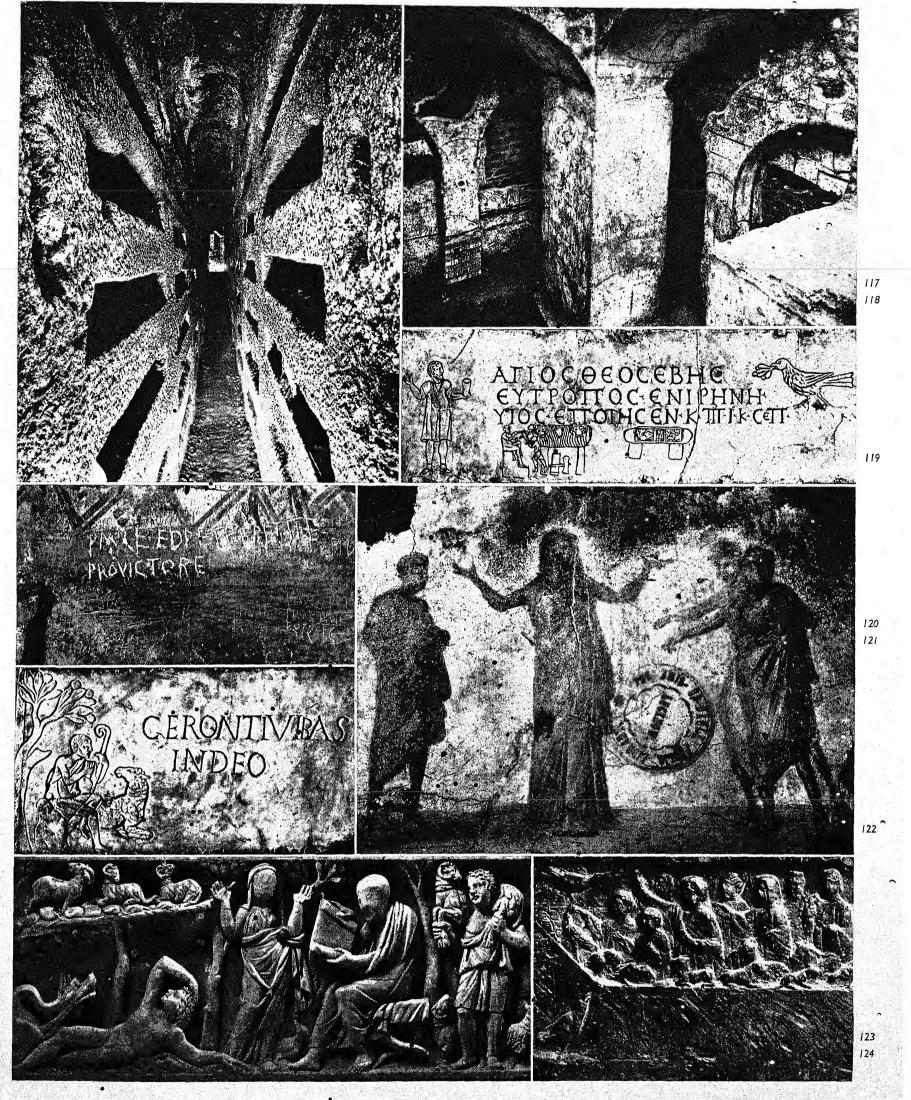
The concern for the highest spiritual values which we find in the literature of the third century, and which reveals itself in the development of neo-Platonism (Plotinus lived at Rome about 240), is also to be found in the sculpture on the innumerable surviving sarcophagi of the period. Besides their strong mythical evocations, the subtle allegory of these numerous reliefs generally expresses an acceptance of the heroic life, or a belief in the significance of the spiritual life. Apart from a certain cynicism, the faces of the portraits in this fateful epoch express what may be taken either for noble resignation or else for despair. Towards the end of the third century we find the hieratic style which—Diocletian introduced into his court, which later develops into the court style of Constantine and his epigones.

Thus, for posterity, Rome is not solely a universal framework in which a truncated Hellenism obtained a further lease of life. It not only gave the Southern 'romance' lands the appearance which they have today; it has not only shaped the geography of the most valuable part of Europe and prepared the future administrative framework of the Church; it had also created the Latin virtus, the realistic and solid outlook of the Latin world.

Finally, we must not forget that it was Rome which preserved our civilization through the barbarian ages, and that it was Latin which was the basis of all higher culture till the predominance of French in the eighteenth century. After the days of Augustus, a language of peasants, officials and schoolmasters became a language of classical prose writers and of conquerors — it was the language of Cicero, Virgil and Tacitus, and then of the Roman Church and of St Leo and St Augustine.







117/ Corridor with loculi (wall tombs) in the catacomb of Panphilus near Rome. 118/ Burial-vault (cubiculum) with arched tombs (arcosolia) in the catacomb of Calixtus on the Applan Way, outside Rome. 119/ Greek epitaph: 'The holy and pious Eutropos, in peace. His son erected this on the 3rd of the kalends of September.' The deceased was a sculptor. He is seen working at a sarcophagus. Urbino. 120/ Portico for funeral meal under St. Sebastian, at Rome: graffiti invoking Sts. Peter and Paul, 'Peter and Paul, pray for Victor'. Illrd cent. 121/ Latin epitaph: 'Gerontius, live in God', and the Good Shepherd. 122/ Susanna falsely accused, praying to God. Fresso in the catacomb of Priscilla. 123/ Sarcophagus with, I. to r. 'Jonah, the praying soul', 'True Philosophy', and the Good Shepherd. Rome, S. M. Antiqua. 124/ Detail from a sarcophagus, with 'the eight souls who were saved' in the Ark. Trier.

[cf. maps 9 and 10]

The Incarnation of God is the fact on which Western Man has based his calendar since the sixth century. This decision is more than symbolic: the Incarnation splits the history of civilization into two distinct parts. But it is, of course, primarily a fact in the realm of belief. For the believer this fact, besides its significance for his own life, is the key to the history of the whole world. For the unbeliever it is . . . what?

The coming of Christ to a remote country with an old prophetic culture, known but misunderstood, and into the middle of a despised people, did not immediately attract attention, though it was not wholly imprepared for. As St. John writes in his Gospel, it was no theophany, but an appearance in glory 'full of grace and truth'. His signs veiled as much as they revealed, for their object was to attract attention without overwhelming the onlooker. Divine Revelation chose the roundabout paths of freely given love. The reason why He was 'received by his own' remains a mystery, the mystery of Faith. We cannot explain why the man healed of his blindness, who had asked a moment before 'Who is it, Lord, that I may believe in Him', kneeled before Him a moment later. Of that mystery the Master said: 'No one comes to me unless my Father leads him.'

As far as we know, the Master came only once into contact with the Greeks - he had not come upon earth to preserve or to save a human culture. But His coming, and the new humanity which began with Him, changed at once the whole appearance of the ancient world in its decline, and modified the contemporary culture. Much to the amazement of the Jews and pagans, there entered into society at the end of the first century A.D. a new category of men, whom they called at Antioch (maps 8-9) 'christianoi' or 'christians'. Their appearance has been depicted for us a thousand times, so that we are all familiar with it. But we do not get a true impression of them from the words of Celsus, their enemy, nor from the letter to Diogenes, and not even from the writings of those who describe them as one out of the many more or less secret religions of the period which they avoided like the plague. What distinguished the Christians from the others was the Lord, always the Lord. They deserved their name - their world is that of the Christ of the Gospels.

The Scripture, and the development of a hierarchic community, are the two on maps 10 and 13 - none of them is forgetten by the Church.

decisive factors in the new Christian culture. The Scripture, which goes so far back into the past, recalled at every moment that salvation was to come from the Jews: the law and the prophets were not to be abolished, but to be visibly fulfilled in Christ. It was only now, after the Old Testament had been translated into Greek at Alexandria (the so-called Septuagint), had been read throughout the world in all synagogues, and had been complemented by the New Testament, that Scripture began to play its part in human culture. The first Christians never forgot to read the Old Testament in the light of the New; that explains why allegorical interpretation and the analogy of the two Testaments are so emphasized in the Ancient Church. The result was that the Bible entered into the Graeco-Roman sensibility as an entirely new imaginative world. Almost all that is to be seen and heard during the following millenary goes back in one way or another to a text or an image from Scripture.

As for the spiritual life of these new men, the gods, heroes and demons held no place, the divinized emperors were simply honourable heads of state, and literature and the arts were but perishable things. The pagans were right when they accused the Christians of despising all worldly things as being futile and illusory; the first generation had to keep themselves 'unspotted from the world', for their allegiance and their true home lay elsewhere. Those who took the trouble to investigate found in the Christians an indomitable faith, a great inner peace, irreproachable morals, and an unforgettable love of their neighbour which surpassed all barriers of class and race and ultimately triumphed even over the hauteur of the Roman patricians. It was an honour for them to be witnesses for their faith; their apostles were not the bishops but the layfolk, and the Christian message spread from man to man. Whenever it was necessary, and the tragic conflicts with the State, chiefly over the question of emperor worship, made it so, they bore witness no longer with words, but with blood. Despite the sarcasms of Marcus Aurelius, and later Voltaire, and despite the fact that the catacombs - the customary graveyards are filled with thousands of simple believers and but few martyrs, the Church up to the Edict of Toleration of 311-313 certainly deserves the title of 'the Church of the martyrs'. The names of the most venerated are to be found

THE FIRST SYNTHESIS

By an almost incredible change of events, paganism was officially, and not without violence, proscribed by Theodosius. The temples were closed, or, as in the East, razed to the ground, and on the Lord's Day and on the feasts of the martyrs the inhabitants of the ancient Hellenic cities thronged to the spacious basilicas. There they listened to the reading of the Scriptures, chanted the psalms in chorus and, if they were baptized, received the Eucharist at a small altar - while the old pagans stayed at home to ponder over their classics. From that time onward, it can be said, the Christians took over the respons sibility for ancient civilization and for the Empire.

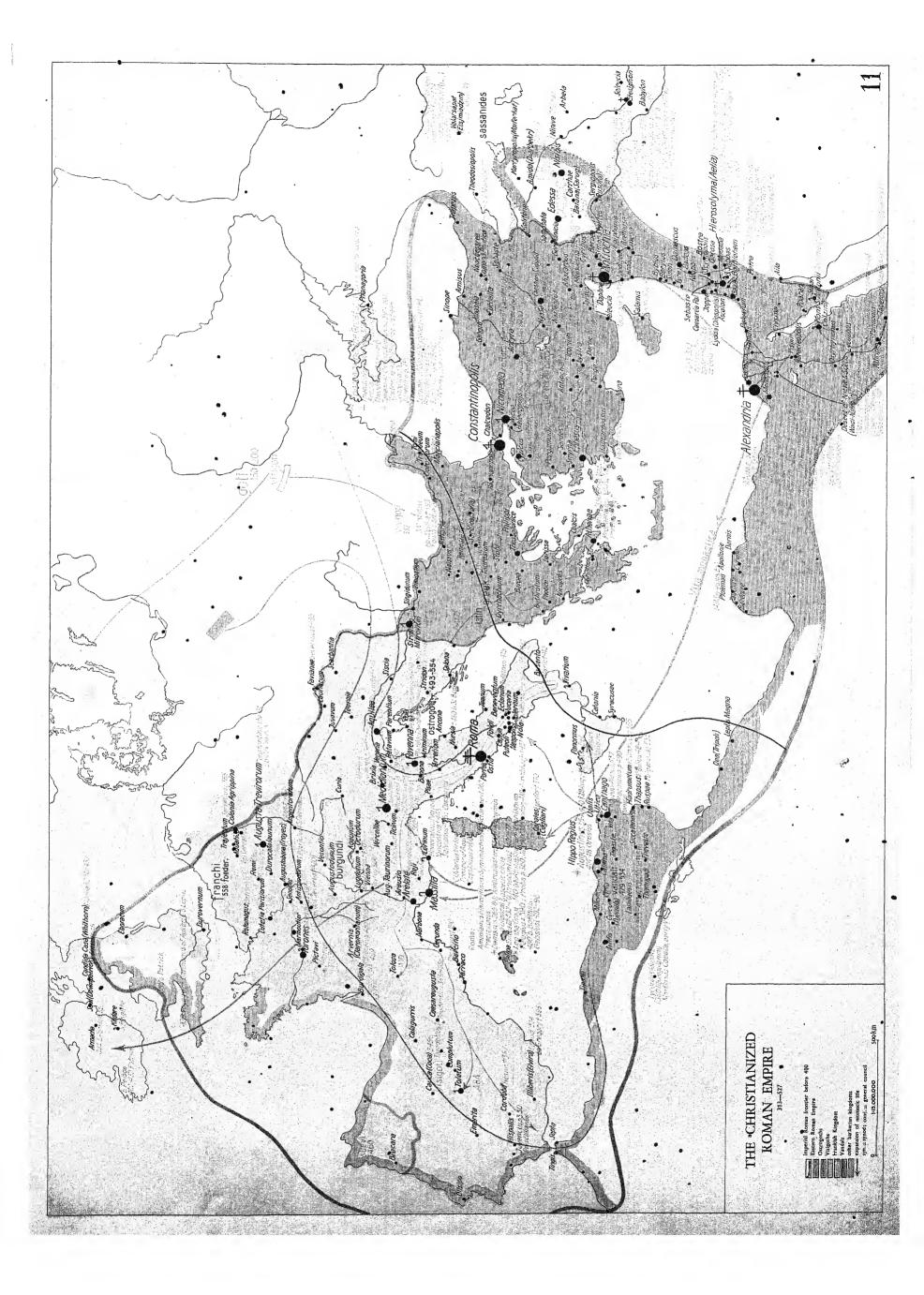
The Empire could not be saved, though by a miracle it remained more or less intact in the East, despite the constant menace on two fronts. As for ancient civilization, many of the Christians were supremely unconcerned about its fate. The ascetics, who had fled the hectic life of the towns for the silence of the desert to meditate on future rather than present modes of existence, were but little concerned with the decline of the social order except as an object lesson. On the other hand, the leading spirits within the Christian Church did what they could to save what they thought was worth saving and what was not incompatible with their faith. They strove to unite the fundamental principles and techniques of ancient civilization with the revelation of faith and of the Bible. The men who accomplished this immeasurable and decisive work were the 'Fathers of the Church', or, as we call them simply, 'the Fathers'. The Church has recognized their work as an authentic source of her tradition, second only to the irrevocable decisions of the General

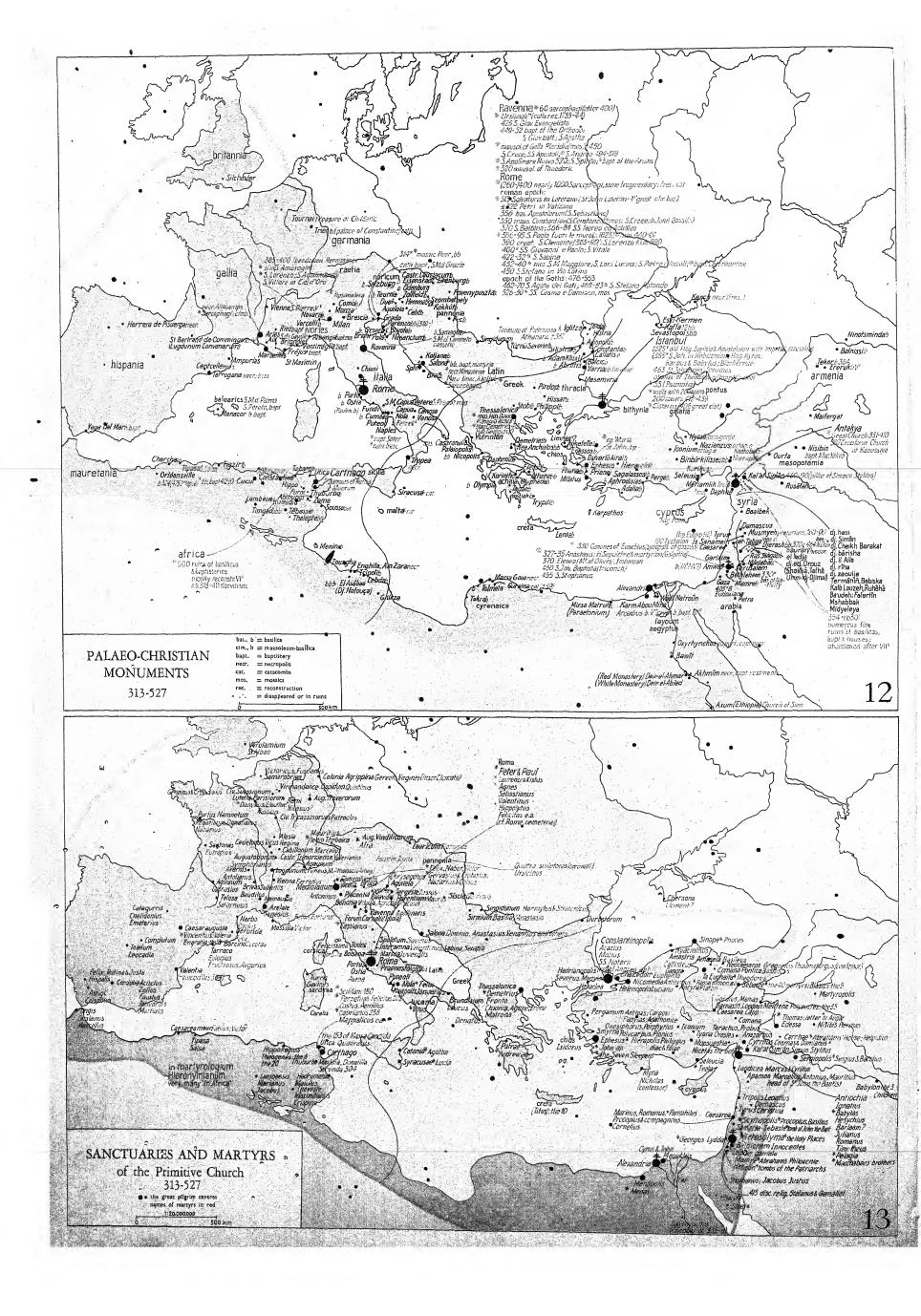
The first demand of the new faith, a demand which distinguishes her from earlier or contemporary religious communities, was the stress laid on inward conversion, on the epistrophe or conversio. The Christian who only observed the public rites was a disgrace to his religion. A state, as such, can never be 'converted' in this sense, even though Christian principles influence its legislation, and even though the emperor, having founded countless sanctuaries and built them with public money, had himself baptized on his deathbed, as Constantine had done in all good faith. Though, in the eyes of the pious, the 'Christianized Empire' was a gift from Heaven and a triumph of Christ, it was in fact but a temporal affair. It was never a substitute for the Church,

the only Christian society. In the West, at least, the Church was never identified with the Christian state, for there was never a western theocrac as there was on the shores of the Bosphorus, where patriarch and emperor, the one always striving to dominate the other, were enthroned side by side in the basilica of Sancta Sophia. In the course of the fourth and fifth centuries, however, the Church was constantly embroiled, willy-nilly, in the affairs of the Empire. In the eyes of the last pagans, she formed a sort of mystical statewithin-the-state, with her powerful bishops in all the cities and her frequently impetuous ascetics crowding the Egyptian patriarchate. On the other hand, the Christian Roman Empire came to the aid of the Church whenever some ecclesiastical affair - either a danger to faith like the Arian and Christological heresies, or the half-religious, half-social froubles of Donatism in Africa not only endangered the social order, but sometimes, like Monophysitism in Egypt and Syria, threatened the very unity of the Empire. The relations between Church and State after Constantine were always in constant tension. In a certain sense it is a situation implicit in the existence of the Church as 'the City of God in exile upon Earth'.

An examination of the map of the Christian Roman Empire (map 11, cf. maps 13-14), reveals four significant facts.

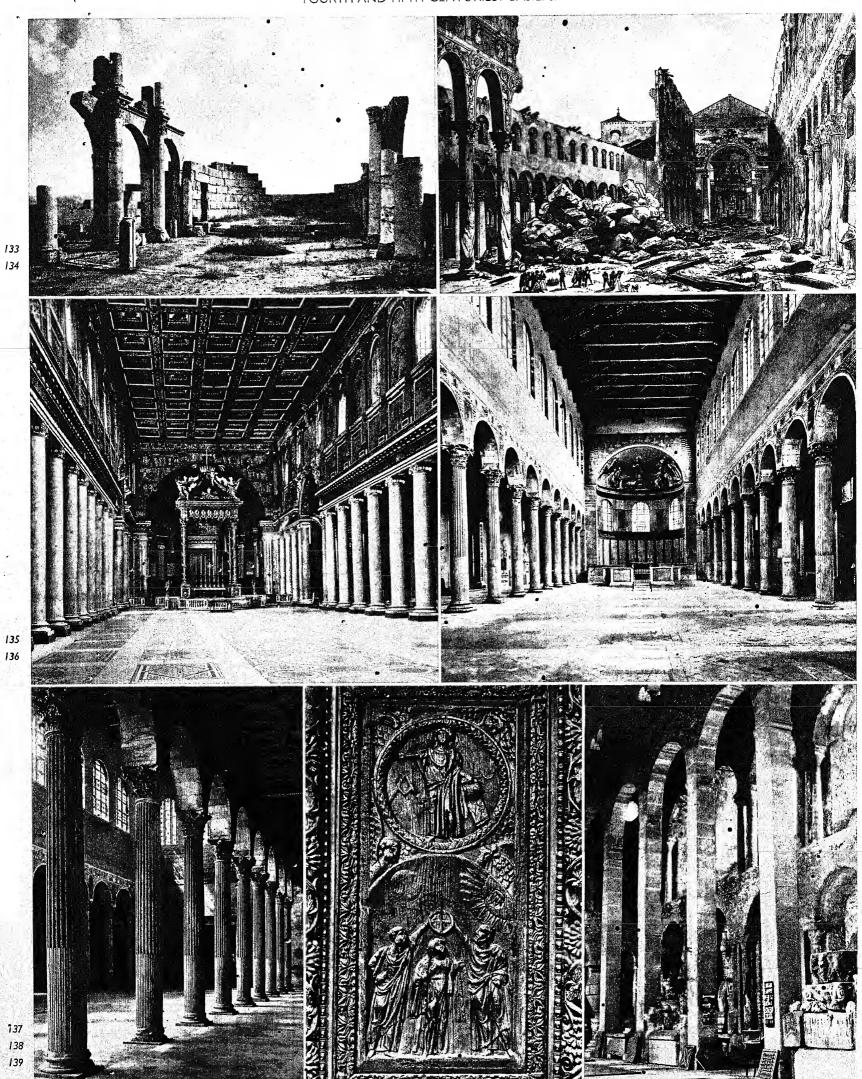
Firstly, the safe world of the pax romana is no more; its powerful framework has crumbled, having served for the propagation of the Gospel. After 400 A.D. the barbarians had the West completely under their heel; they became Arians, 128not Catholics, so that in the contemporary mind Christianity was involuntarily 129 associated with 'romanness'. It followed, therefore, that virtually all creative activity came to fruition within the Christian Church. The liturgy, with its feasts and hymns (in the West those of St. Ambrose); the roman style of the prayers; the roman ecclesiastical organization of the See of Peter; the great Scriptural commentaries; hagiography, and the systematization of Christian dogma and morality; the ascetic life which comes to the West from Egypt via Hippo, Lerins, Marseilles and Arles, and links up with the Celtic tradition in Ireland; the basilicas with their decorations, and the appearance of sym- 133 bolic, didactic, and expressionist art; finally, the Christian Platonism of the 148 great Cappadocians, of Ambrose (who assimilated the Enneads of Plotinus into his hondilies), and of Augustine, the spiritual father of the Middle Ages -





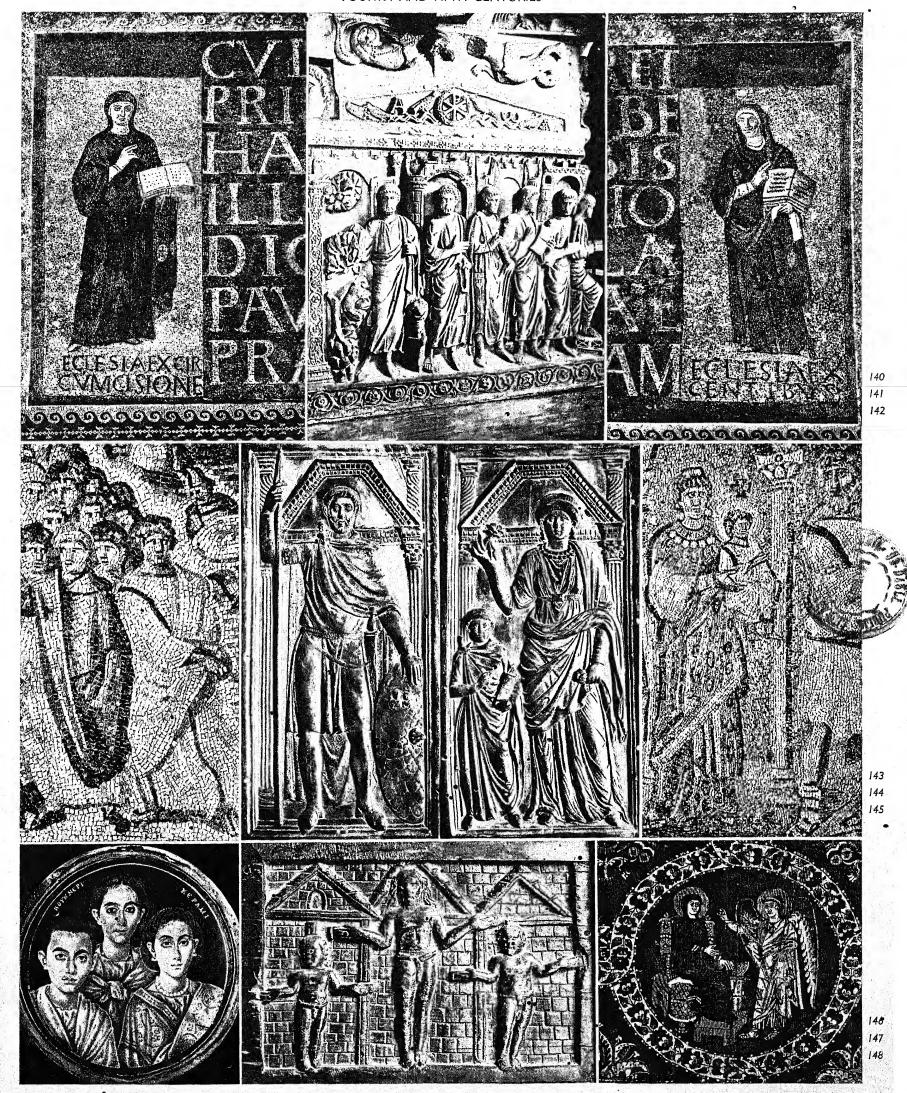


125/ Detail from a sarcophagus: healing of the man born blind. Rome, Museo delle Terme. 126/ Constantine, St. John Lateran, natthex. 127/ Christ preaching, detail from a sarcophagus. Arles, Musée chrétien. 128/ St. John Lateran, the old Constantinian church of the Redeemer. Probably the original model for all later basilicas. It was rebuilt in the XVIIIth cent. and enlarged in the XIXth. 129/ Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity. The four colonnades are Constantinian; the west end (with the modern Greek iconostasis) was added under fustinian (cf. no. 190). 130/ Detail from mosaic pavement in the church at Aquileia, ca. 314; a sea-piece, with Christian symbols (Jondh and fishers of human souls). 131/ The edicula of the Holy Sepulchre, inside the Constantinian rotunda (photo taken in 1950). Jerusalem. 132/ Gallery in the mausoleum of Constantia, daughtere of Constantine; note the mosaic vaulting. 337-350. Rome.

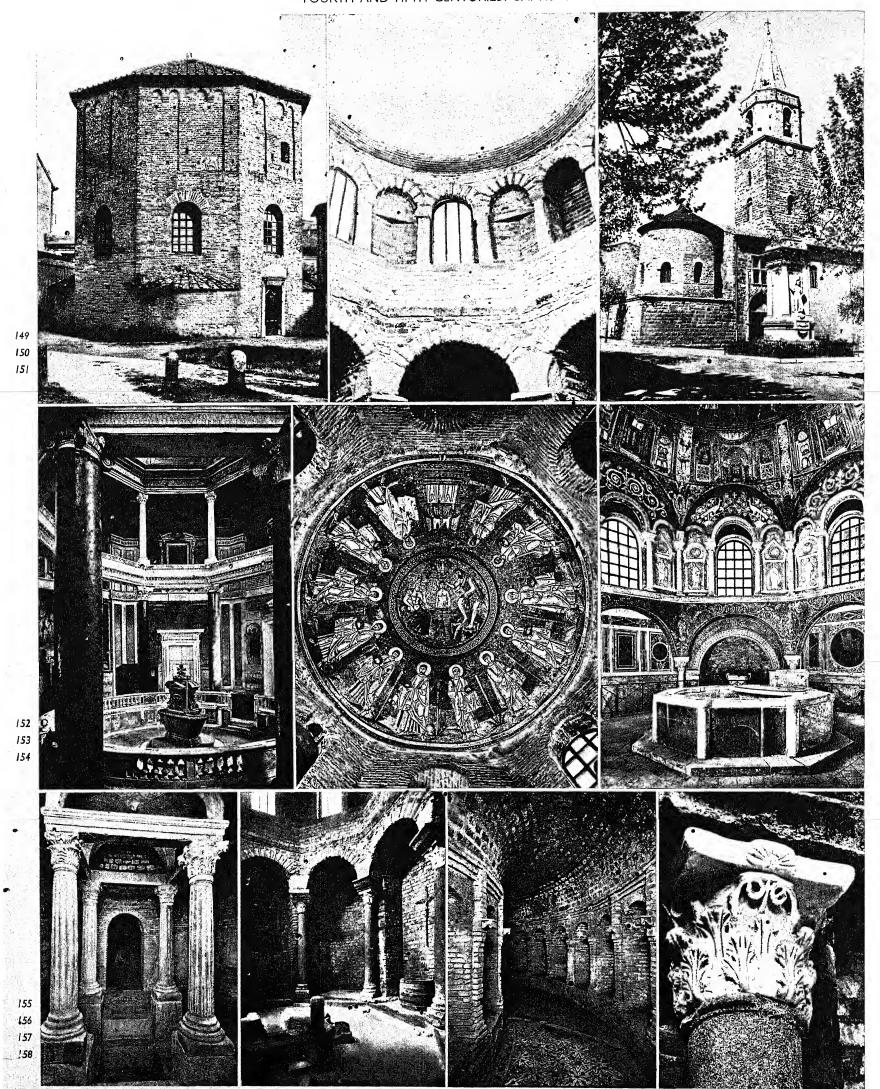


133/ Ruins of the basilica at Tebessa (N.Africa). IVth and VIth cents. 134/ St. Paul-without-the-Walls; the basilica of Theodosius. Late IVth cent. After the disastrous fire of 1823. 135/ Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore. The first Roman church dedicated to the Virgin; built by Sixtus III ca. 432. 136/ Rome, Santa Sabina, built under Celestine I, 422-430. Well preserved, though much restored and lacking its original interior decoration. 137/ Rome, colonnade in Santa Sabina; the monumental inscription shown in nos. 140-142 is above the door at the back. 138/ Rome, Santa Sabina, wooden panel of main door, 431; the Lord in His Glory surrounded by the Four Living Things; below, Sts. Peter and Paul crowning the Church with the monogram of Christ. 139/ Vienne, Saint-Pierre, Vth cent. basilica, now a museum.

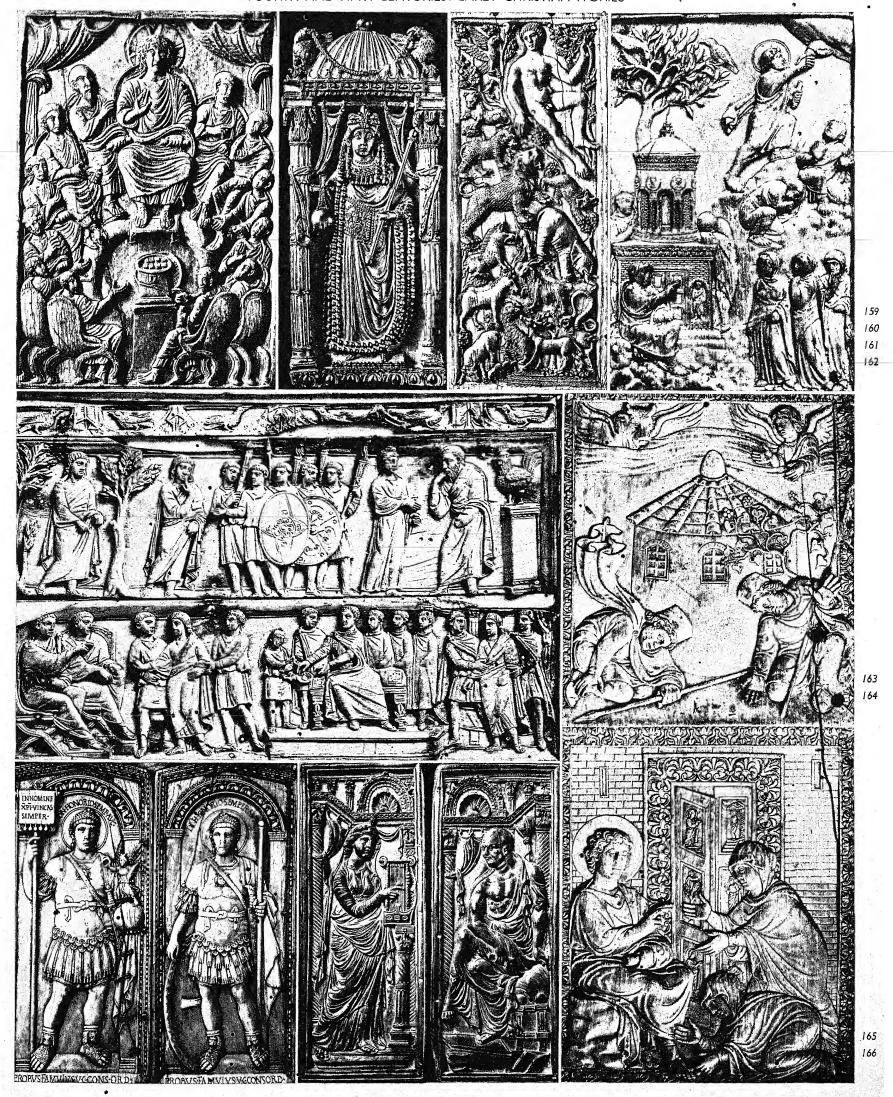
[cf. map 12]



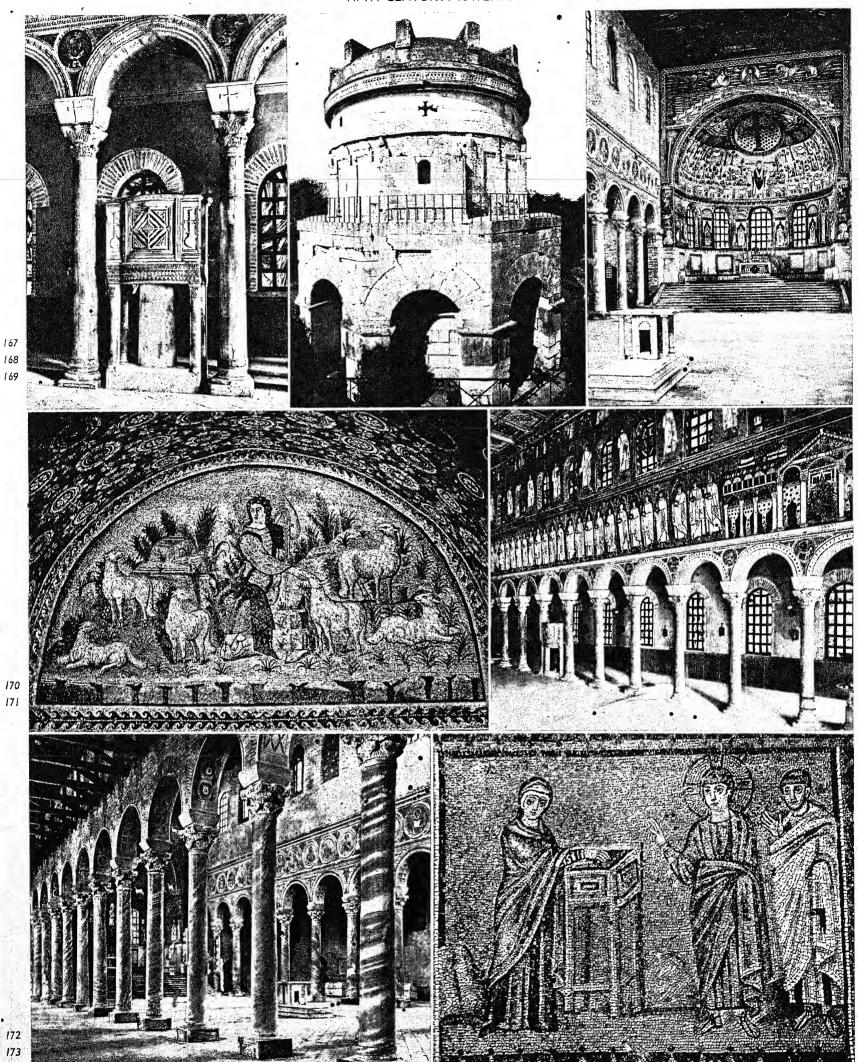
140, 142/ The two ends of the monumental inscription over the door of Sta. Sabina, Rome. L., the Church of the Circumcision; r., the Church of the Gentiles. Mosaic, 422-430. 141/ Side view of a sarcophagus, with the sacrifice of Isaac and the Apostles in the Heavenly Jerusalem. St. Ambrose, Milan. 143/ Moses after crossing the Red Sea, striking it with his staff. Mosaic in the nave of Sta. Maria Maggiore. After 431. 144/ Ivory diptych with Stilicho (or Eucherius?) and his wife and son. Cathedral at Monza. 145/ Mary presents Jesus in the Temple. Mosaic from the triumphal arch of Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome, after 431. 146/ Gilt glass: a Christian family group. Brescia, Museo Civicos 147/ Panel from the door of Sta. Sabina, Rome. One of the earliest representations of the Crucifixion. 431. 148/ The Annunciation; on silk. Rome, the Vatican.



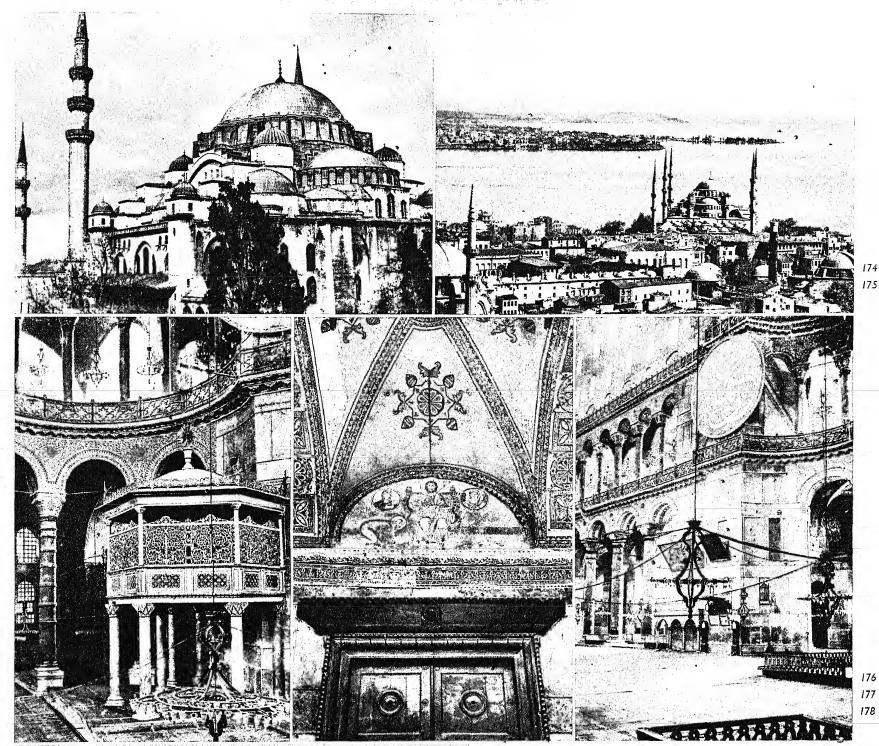
149/ Baptistery of the Orthodox, Ravenna, Vth cent. (the surrounding ground has been raised). 150-151/ Baptistery at Fréjus in front of the Cathedral; cupola and exterior. Vth cent. 152/ Baptistery of the Lateran, rebuilt under Sixtus III after 430. 153/ Mosaic in the cupola of the baptistery of the Arians at Ravenna, early Vlth cent. Baptism of Christ and the apostles. 154/ Baptistery of the Orthodox at Ravenna (cf. no. 149). Decoration mainly intact, though floor raised and font mediaeval. 155/ Canopy over the font in the baptistery at Djemila, the ancient Cuicul (N. Africa), Vth cent. 156/ Baptistery at Fréjus (cf. no. 155). 158/ Capital in the baptistery at Fréjus (cf. no. 156). An example of the transformation of the classic Corinthian capital. — Only no. 155 gives an exact idea of the original arrangement of the font. [cf. map 12]

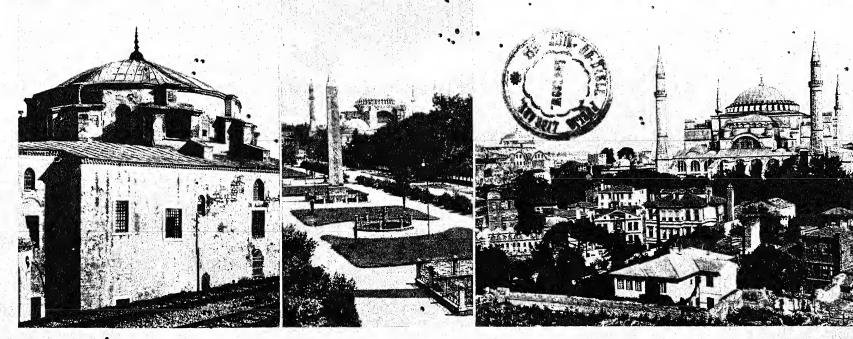


The ivories of the IVth and Vth cents. are mostly well preserved and provided a most valuable source for pagan and Christian culture in the early centuries of the Church. 159/ Christ and the twelve apostles. Dijon. 160/ Byzantine Empress. Florence, Museo Nazionale. 161/ Adam in Paradise. Florence, Museo Nazionale. 162/ Resurrection and Ascension. Munich, Bayer. Nationalmuseum. 163/ The Agony in the Garden, the Arrest, the Denial of Peter, and Christ before Pilate. One of the earliest representations of the entire Passion. Eid of ivory reliquary. Brescia, Museo Civico. 370. 164/ Consular diptych of Probus. Rome, 406. Aosta Cathedral. 165/ Diptych of the Muse and the Poet Rome, ca. 500. Monza Cathedral. 166/ The women at the Tomb and the sleeping sentries. Milan, Castello Sforzesco. IVth cent. The tomb is depicted as a rich mausoleum of the second half of the IVth cent. [cf. map 12]

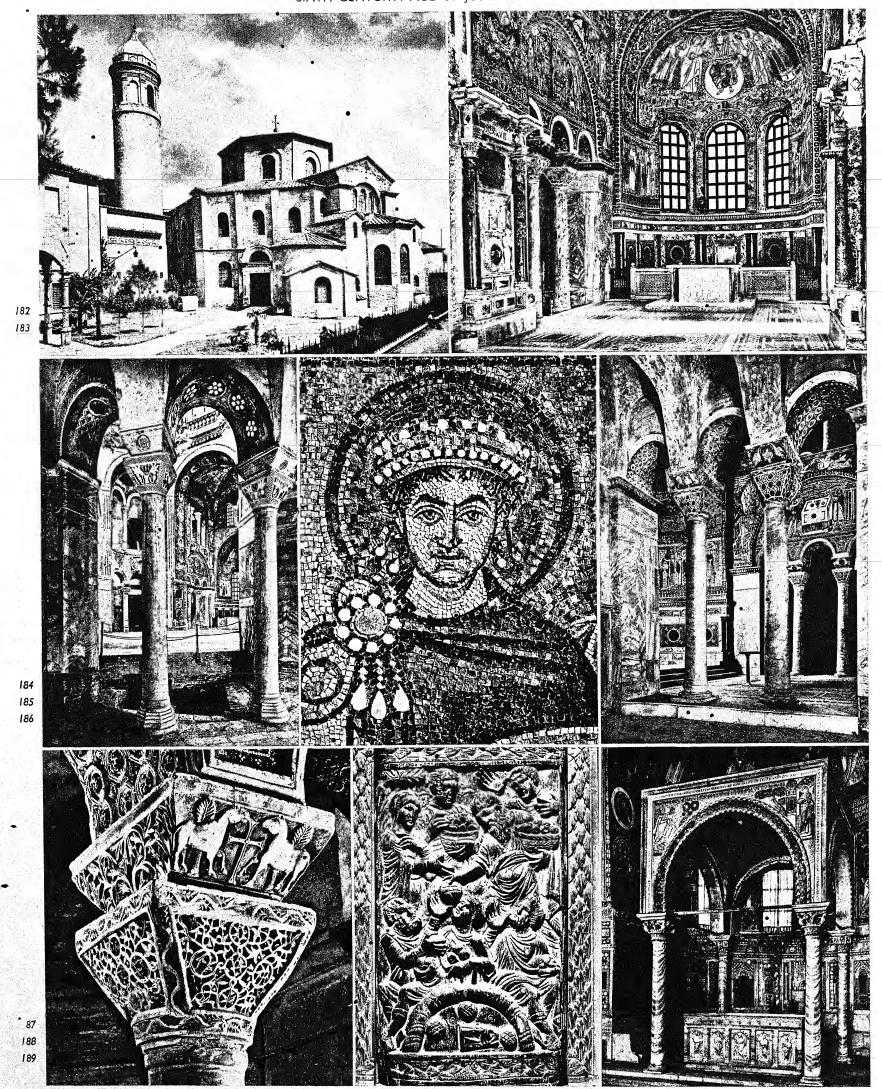


Ravenna in the time of Galla Placidia and Theodoric. 167/ Columns of the nave of S. Apollinare Nuovo, the palatine church of Theodoric. 168/ Tomb of Theodoric outside the town; with heavy monolithic cupola. 169/ S. Apollinare in Classe, in a churchyard near Classe; apse with VIth cent. mosaics. 170/ Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, mosaic tympanum depicting the Good Shepherd. 171/ Nave of S. Apollinare Nuovo with the celebrated mosaics. Above, near the roof, a Life of Jesus (for detail of. no. 173); underneath the Prophets and Evangelists. Below right, the palace of Ravenna. The procession of martyrs was added later under Justinian. 172/ S. Apollinare in Classe, side view of the nave. 173/ The Widow's Mite. Mosaic from S. Apollinare Nuovo.

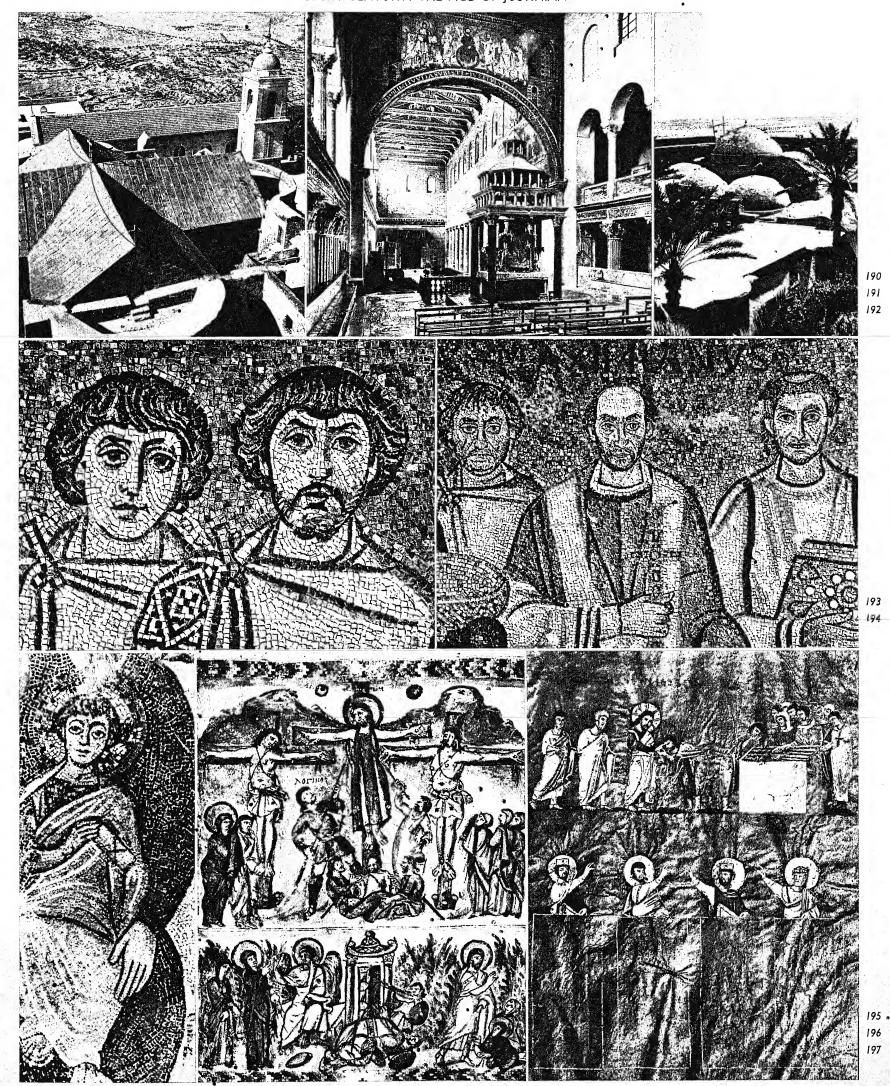




Constantinople today is but a shadow of the former Byzantine city. The church of Saint Sophia is surrounded by XVIth and XVIIth century mosques which were modelled on its style; indeed the mosques themselves give a better Impression of the original effect than their heavily restored model. 174/ The mosque of Soliman, by Sunan, 1557. 175/ The Golden Horn, with the mosque of the Sultan Achmed, 1610. 176/ Detail of the interior of Saint Sophia (the furnishings are Turkish). 177/ The royal door in the narthex of Saint Sophia, with IXth cent. mosaic. 178/ Detail of the interior of Saint Sophia. 179/ Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, now a mosque (the nave is damaged). 180/ The Hippodrome with Saint Sophia in the background. 181/ R., Saint Sophia; I., Saint Irene. VIth cent.



Rovenna in the time of Justinian. 182/ San Vitale, from the east (the tower is modern). 183/ San Vitale, the bema (sanctuary) and apse; with perfectly preserved VIth cent. mosaics. 184/ San Vitale, view from the gallery. 185/ The Emperor Justinian, detail from votive mosaic in the apse (cf. no. 183, left); one of the best portraits in this period. 186/ San Vitale, side view of the sanctuary. 187/ San Vitale, capital. One of the most interesting moments in VIth cent. architecture is the decisive break with the monotonous Corinthian capital and the experiment with new forms. Note the 'impost' above the abacus, as a transition to the arch. 188/ The Miracle of the Loaves; ivory from the bishop's chair of Maximianus. Archdiocese of Ravenna. 189/ Decoration of the apse in the basilica of Eufrasius at Parenzo (the canopy over the altar is XIIIth cent.).



Monuments from all parts of the Empire. 190/ Bethlehem, Justinian's Church of the Nativity, on 'cloverleaf' pattern. 191/ Rome, St. Lawrence-without-the-Walls. Though reconstructed, the basilica retains its VIth cent. mosaics (note the galleries). 192/ Coptic monastery in Wadi Natrôun in the Nitrian Desert, Egypt. 193-194/ Two details from the votive mosaic of Justinian in San Vitale at Ravenna (cf. no. 185). L., an officer and a senior official; r., a eunuch, Archbishop Maximianus and his archdeacon. 195/ Detail from a mosaic in Cyprus: the Infant Logos on His Mother's knee. 196/ The Crucifixion and the Appearances in the Garden, miniature from the evangelarium of Rabula, from Zagba in Mesopotamia, 586. 197/ The healing of the man born blind. Miniature from the earliest isuminated gospel manuscript, VIth cent. Rossano cathedral, Calabria.

[cf. map 15]

such is the treasury which the Middle Ages, and we ourselves today, never cease to plunder.

Secondly, whoever compares the writings, art, and above all the personalities of the first Christian centuries with those of pre-Christian antiquity, is always struck by the presence of a new psychic factor - the Biblical factor. It is as if the human personality has received a new inner dimension, and it is immediately recognizable in a new imaginative idiom drawn from the Bible. It expresses itself in new emotions, new lines of approach, and a wholly new outlook on men and things. The old eros has given way to agape, the superiority complex of the élite has given way to the feeling of human comradeship; Man is revealed in the light of the Incarnation, and the gods have made way for the majesty of God. Revelation altered human sensibility from top to bottom, and if anyone doubts this, let him read the Confessions of St. Augustine by the side of Plato's Dialogues.

The third striking fact is that profane culture in this period is predominantly literary, and in the West at least cuts a decidedly poor figure beside that of the Christian Church. Education and schools, however, remain outside the orbit of the Christian revival.

The fourth and last point is that there is no question of a systematic propagation of the faith outside the frontiers of the Empire; and of the barbarians who came within the old imperial territory, the Franks were to be the very first to become Catholics at the beginning of the following period.

The cultural monuments which have come down to us from this highly creative period are very unevenly distributed. The enormous library of the Fathers has been for the most part preserved. Apart from that, very little 133 of material fabric survives. A certain amount of minor art, many cemeteries, but mostly completely-rifled (most of the Roman cemeteries known to us date 173 from this period, cf. map 10), and finally a number of basilicas, for the most part restored from their very foundations and hardly recognizable in their present state. The latter are to be found all over the Empire, but especially in Syria and North Africa. But the smallest fragments are precious for us because in them generally lie the prototypes of the imagery of the mediaeval and post-mediaeval world. The early Christian manuments do not point to a violent break with the traditions of antiquity, still less to a conscious craving for originality. They testify rather to a natural shift of attention in subject matter and to a spiritual renewal working outwards from within. The external form in which the new imagery appears belongs wholly to the Ancient World. It is true that certain genres have died out or have been consciously rejected (as for instance such motifs as the colonnaded temple, and the stone images), and the whole mythological and erotic genre disappeared almost at once. But neither in architecture nor in the plastic arts do we find new techniques or a consciously new style - there has been selection, but not innovation. There are, doubtless, new opportunities for certain techniques, notably the special demand for monumental mosaics to decorate the great mural surfaces and the apsidal domes. Whatever was available - genres, techniques, and clichés was carefully selected and pressed into the service of the new demand. There was the spaciousness of the church walls to be filled, the mysteries of the Redemption to be depicted, and the characters from the Bible and the martyrs, the new heroes, to be commemorated. The somewhat pompous figurative style, adopted to inspire respect and to elevate the thoughts, existed in the imperial court before it came within the Christian basilicas. That it was so much more impressive in the latter was due to the more elevated context; from now onwards in Christian art, form is always subject to the requirements of content. Christian art is primarily referential and symbolic, and the force and dignity which the Christians of these golden centuries gave to the interior decoration of their spacious religious edifices (basilicas, baptisteries, mausoleums, and commemorative churches) have rarely been equalled and never surpassed. It was the task of the following century to create a perfectly homogeneous Christian style in which the tension between the old form and the new content, usually gentle and inspiring but nonetheless present, has definitely disappeared. This was the work of Justinian at the beginning of the VIth century, in the preëminently Christian atmosphere of Constantinople.

THE CHRISTIAN EAST

After the Christianization of the Empire, the Ancient World became more and more clearly split into two parts, East and West. It was a question not only of political events and of language (for the language boundaries see maps 11, 15 and 17), but also of the differences in the arts, rites, way of living and, in a word, of the whole culture. While in the West the ancient civilization disappeared entirely, except for a few admired but neglected monuments and a partial survival of the school curriculum, in the East, on the contrary, it continued to develop for the next thousand years till 1453. That is the essential difference between Byzantine Christianity, which successfully developed along traditional lines for several centuries, and Mediaeval Christianity which,

though young and unsure of itself, had a greater future ahead of it. On the one hand continuity; on the other a new departure. Mediaeval culture is fresh and youthful, the Byzantine is over-mature, old fashioned, and on its dignity. Nevertheless, since it influenced and imposed itself upon the West for six or seven centuries, it must be reckoned with in this survey.

Byzantine civilization flourished for a thousand years in the middle of a society that grouped itself round the glorious cultural centre of Constantinople, 174 the 'New Rome'. It was a society that considered itself the heir to the three 181 best things in the world: Hellenic civilization, the Christian Roman Empire, and Greek Orthodoxy.

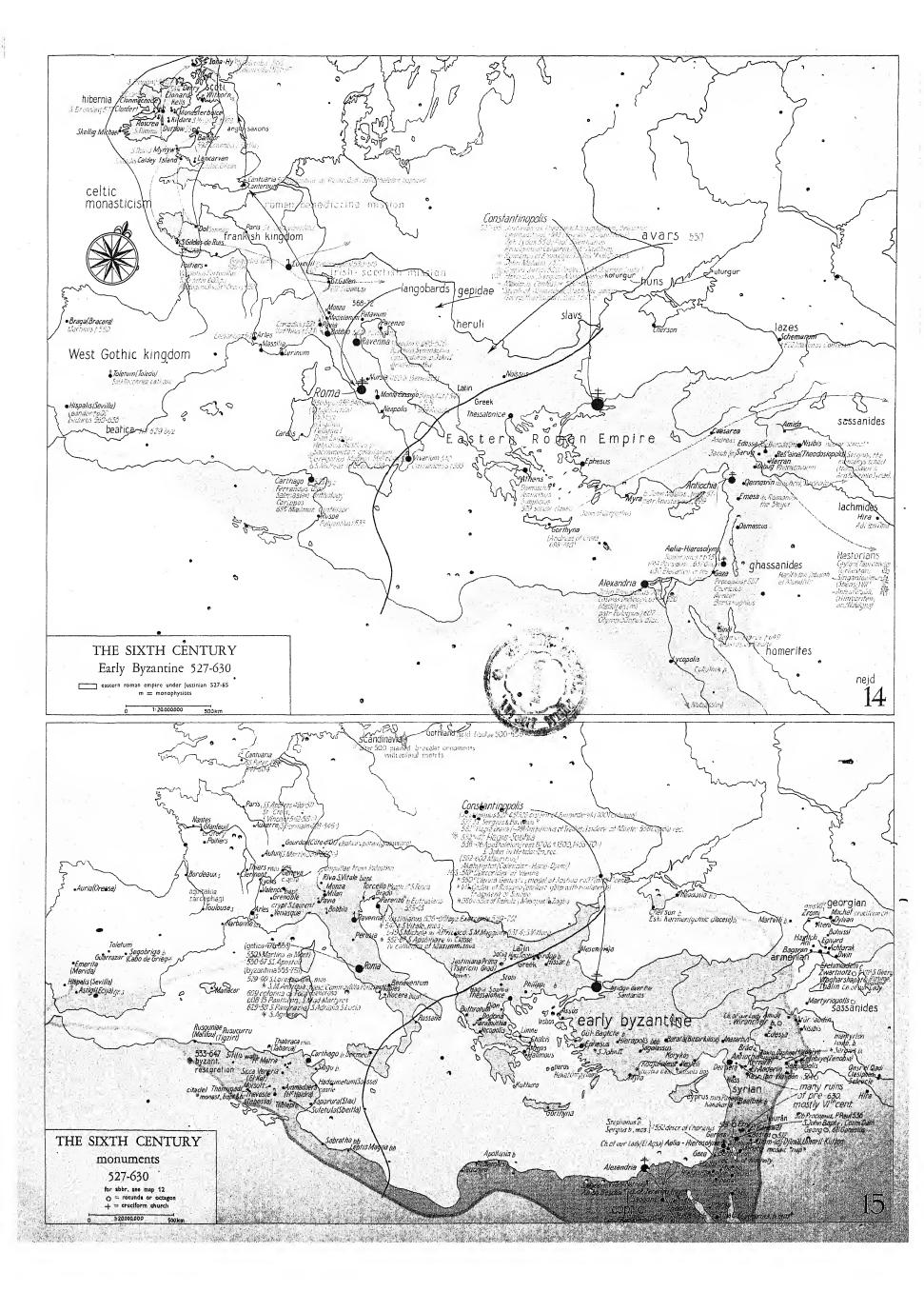
The Byzantines considered themselves first and foremost as Hellenes, that is, as the direct heirs of Athens and Alexandria, custodians and exegetes of Homer, Plato, Aristotle, and the Neoplatonists. They were always transcribing and editing the literary heritage of antiquity, they were the connoisseurs of the Greek past. The artistic heritage of Hellas that survived into the IVth and Vth centuries was but the pale reflection of that Greek humanism which we find everywhere in late antiquity. The Byzantine masters elaborated upon the modes of this powerful but cosmopolitan period in their own, typically Oriental- 182 Greek way. They introduced the cupola into the basilica, and they turned 585 their interiors into grottoes of variegated marble and mosaic. As for the 565 expressive outline of the old Christian statues, they stylized it into an intricate formula of balanced lines derived from the style of the ancient Greek bas-

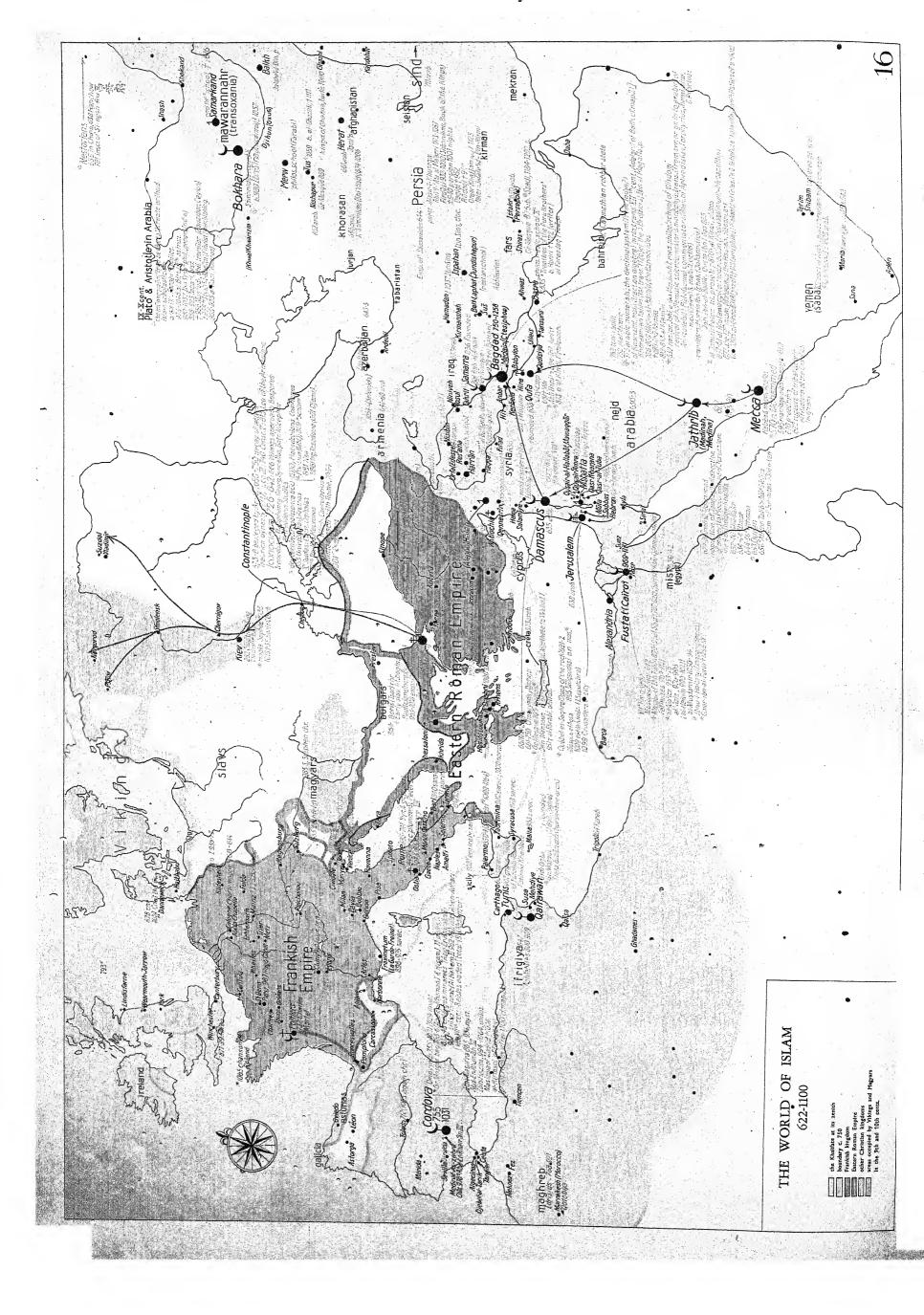
The Byzantines considered themselves Romans (or 'Rhomaeans', as they pronounced it), that is, Romans of the Empire as opposed to the Barbarians, those Sarmatians, Huns, Slavs, Persians, Arabs, Syrians and Copts, who had neither the same faith nor the same feeling for the Empire, and who seemed to be betraying and threatening both. In Byzantium, it must not be forgotten, belief and Empire, Church and Court, were two inseparable institutions. 185 Devotion due to the Emperor, the self-ruler (Autokrator), had its place at the II5 centre of the devotion due to God, the ruler of All (Pantokrator). Constantinople was the city where the Divine Wisdom had its temple, the Church of Sancta 116 Sophia; it was too the personal jewel and possession of the Theotokos, the Virgin Mary, Mother of God. (In this connection we may remark that it is to Constantinople that we owe not only the types of Christ, but also the three classic types of image of the Mother of God: enthroned, the Nikopoia; standing, the Hodigitria; and praying, the Blacherniotissa). Above all, the Byzantines felt themselves 'orthodox', holders of the one true faith as handed down by the apostles and repeatedly defined against the heretics in the course of the first oecumenical councils, which were always held within their Empire.

As for their relationship with the West, it should be realized that the centre of gravity of the Christian world had from the outset its origin in the East. Did not everything come from the East?: the faith itself, the first theology, the 'angelic' life of the monks, the devotion to the Cross and to the Mother of God? 580 Were not the Byzantines the direct heirs of Paul and John, whose letters 578 were still heard in their original language by the same congregations to which they were originally addressed? Did not the majority of the bishoprics, and especially the most ancient, lie in the East? And where did the Christianization of the world begin (map 9)? In the East, the land of the Holy Places, of the Desert Fathers, of the Apologists, of the Councils, of the majestic liturgies, and of the decisive victories of orthodoxy over the gnostic and christological heresies. To be sure, they had certainly accepted, first in their hearts and then with their lips, the prerogatives of Rome, the first apostolic see, and home of the innumerable martyrs whose graves lay like a wreath about her walls (map 10). But Rome had been abandoned by the Emperor and thrice plundered by the Barbarians. Always threatened, and totally impoverished, she was soon to become but a far off city, great only by her monuments and her memories, and by the presence of the successors of St. Peter. In the VIth century she came under the jurisdiction of the Byzantine exarch of Ravemaa, but eventually the Holy See, the independent summit of the Church, escaped completely from the Greek basileus, and by what in Greek eyes seemed an act of treacherous desertion, turned herself towards the West, and even towards the ruler of the 'barbarian' Franks.

What then remained of the old Latin culture in the Byzantium of the VIIth century? They did not even know of Augustine; and only the names of Leo the Great and Gregory the Great (maps 11 and 14) occur in the Greek calendar.

Byzantine civilization has been rejected out of hand for centuries, and no one used to dream of studying it. Now that it is better known today, however, it can be despised or admired, but it can no longer be neglected. It is impossible to despise a society whose artistry one admires, and the hymns of Romanos, the mosaics, the icons, and the fine, delicately constructed churches amaze anyone who has eyes and ears. The Byzantines recognized strange conventions, but their Empire lasted for a thousand years, and their works of art testify to an incomparably high way of life, at least among the élite, and still more, to that most exceptional cultural asset, a dignified piety.





The 'continuation of Greece' was, in a certain sense, an illusion. When Byzantium began, Hellas had already disappeared several centuries ago. It was scarcely more than an Acropolis bathed in memories, and a number of masterpieces which had been carefully cherished through the ages. The Parthenon had become a basilica to the Virgin Mother of God. The savants and the poets used an artificial literary language, a sort of neo-Attic. But the Byzantines did not only preserve their literary texts for us. In the construction of their vaults and in the nobility of their statuary they preserved much of the ancient Greek refinement and of the old humanism. What marked them off from the Ancients is perhaps that which marks off all cultures of later antiquity from that of ancient Greece. It can be seen most clearly in the arts. The Ancients built static temples with carefully constructed exteriors, within the sober limitations of pillars and capitals. In their representation of the human figure they strove for clarity of form, and they allowed the spirit to shine only through the beautiful, healthy, slightly draped or naked body. They thought in terms of shapes, proportions, and the clarity of perfection. The 'cosmopolites' of 300-400 A.D., who included the early Christian artists, thought in terms of interiors, polychromes, architectural dynamics, portraits, and, above all, symbolism. In place of tangible clarity they strove to convey a sense of inner reality, either by the aid of an ambiguous symbolism, which concealed as much as it illuminated, or by intensity of expression. Almost always they concerned themselves with spiritual situations or states of the soul, and their themes were invariably borrowed from the Bible and the Court. The epoch of the brilliant human figure is at an end, a new epoch has begun, that of Christian expressionism and of the supremacy of content.

Shortly after 500 A.D., and contemporaneously with the somewhat awkward and unbalanced work of the 'cosmopolitan' phase, there appeared at Con-182 stantinople and elsewhere (the best specimens are at Ravenna) the first works 89 of a completely new and coherent style, which we know as 'Early Byzantine'. 187 The liturgy of Constantinople, the hieratic style of the court, the costume, the vaulting, the ornamentation of the capitals, the polychrome decoration of the interiors and the style of draughtsmanship, all combine to form a unity. Throughout the Empire we find the same style, the same motifs, and the

Four centuries later, after the crisis of the Iconoclast controversy, these • same themes. 573 motifs received their final and definitive form; they became the classical clichés of the so-called 'deutero-Byzantine Renaissance', clichés which have remained unchanged to this day among the Orthodox Christians.

THE SIXTH CENTURY

On the maps of the VIth and the beginning of the VIIth century (maps 14-15), the shattered West cuts a poor figure beside the Byzantine Empire which, under Justinian, seemed for a moment to be on the way towards restoring the old Imperial unity. In a series of rapid military campaigns and naval expeditions, graphically described by the historian Procopius, the Byzantines conquered Italy, where they overthrew the empire of the Ostrogoths, and North Africa, where they crushed the kingdom of the Arian Vandals. They even succeeded in occupying Baetica, the modern Andalusia, which they wrested from the Visigoths. Everywhere they went they restored Roman administration as well as orthodox Christianity, and, most notably in Africa, the Catholics were able to breathe freely again after the nightmare of Vandal

A century later, as a result of the revolt of the hinterlands and the Arab invasion, there remained but the mutilated trunk of this impressive empire. But the empire of Justinian had left an indestructible heritage behind it. In the first place there was the administrative organization of the Empire. There was also the codification of Roman Law, the Corpus Juris (Latin was still always the official language). Then there was the first classic Byzantine poetry, primarily religious; as for learning, the Emperor closed the last school of rhetoric at Athens in 529, and the professors emigrated to the court of the Mazdean Sassanides in Persia. A glance at the list of scholars assigned to the Imperial cultural centres on map 14 should be sufficient to convince us that Byzantine erudition and historiography were already firmly established at this period. But theology no longer offers any names comparable with the Early Fathers, and the first great thinker of Greek Christianity, Maximus the 182 Confessor, belongs to about 600 A.D. The monuments of this period (shown on map 15) have always compelled the admiration of every visitor to the Near 84 East. The Sancta Sophia of Constantinople, the 'Great Church of Christ', was then the most beautiful building in the world. By its extremely intellectual and subtle technique, Sancta Sophia is a worthy conclusion to the architecture of the ancient world. Its interior conveys the impression of immateriality and infinity, and its dominating cupola admirably illustrates the Helleno-Christian conception of the world, in which all reality looks inwards to the supreme kentron, the invisible and perfect majesty of God. Sancta Sophia remained

unique, and the classical basilica with cupola developed from a simpler con- 190 ception. However, it is astonishing how much survives from this period in all parts of the Empire in the way of bridges, fortifications, walls, basilicas, cisterns (especially in the capital), country houses, mosaics, and minor art. 182 To be able to see an architectural structure preserved as a unity, such as 187 San Vitale at Ravenna, or the decoration of the apse in the basilica of Parenzo in Istria, is to feel at once the reality of a homogeneous and original way of life which was to preserve its autonomy for centuries.

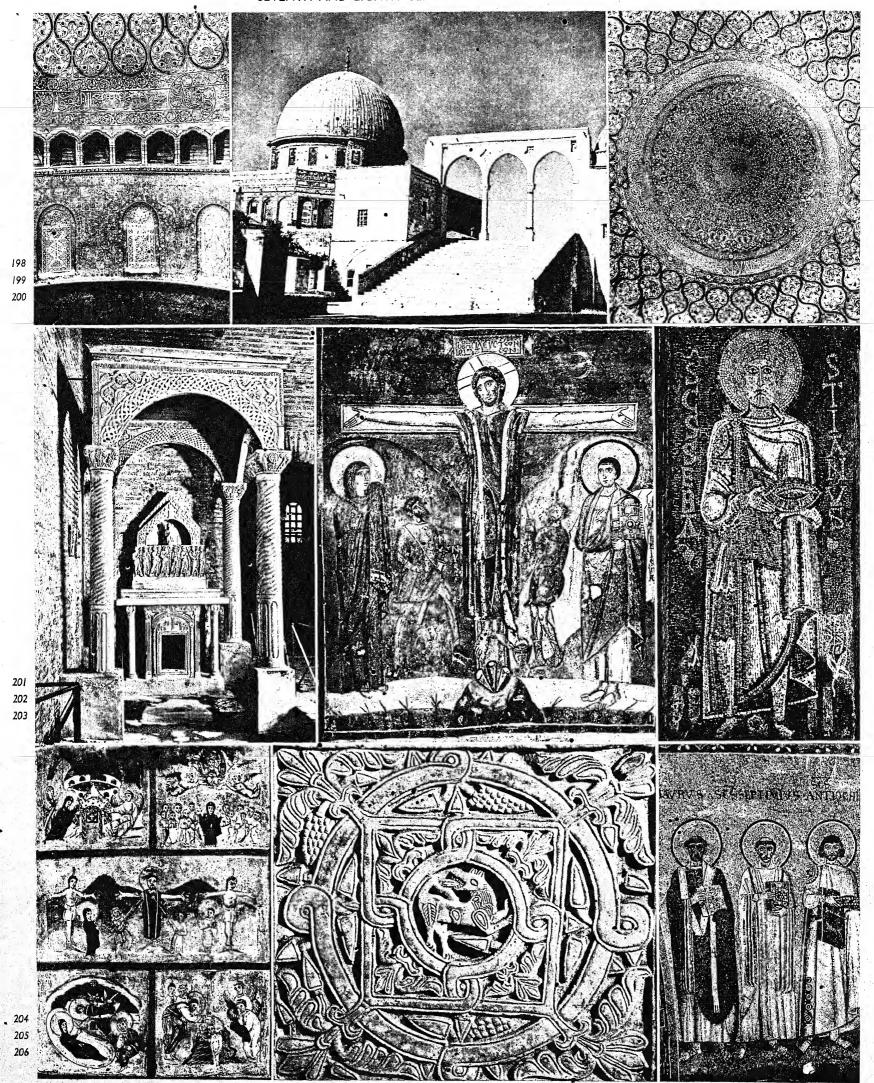
What is also remarkable in the VIth century is the intellectual activity of the outlying provinces, as for example Eastern Syria, where the non-orthodox national élite, who detested the imperialist and christian Byzantines (the appellation 'Melkites' means 'imperial'), adhered to monophysism and Nestorianism. Such profane Greek authors as Aristotle and Galen were translated into Syrian and used in the schools of Nisibis and Rešaina. This intellectual activity was continued by the first Arabian translators in the following period (see map 16), and forms a link in the chain which joins Hellenism and Scholasticism, and which runs from Bagdad to Cordova. It was also this Syrian élite which brought Christendom, albeit in the form of Nestorianism, far beyond the old imperial boundaries. Their faith spread throughout Sassanidean Persia over the whole of Turkestan, and, as appears from such monuments as the inscription of Singanfu, into China itself (see map 34). At this period too, Georgia and Armenia established their national cultures in their first clearly 192 defined form, and Egypt still preserves in a few monasteries the remnants of sculpture and literary fragments which testify to the Coptic Monophysite

The West, by contrast, presents a picture of chaos and confusion, as a Christianity which flourished there. glance at the map will show. In the extreme west, facing the Atlantic, lies an entirely strange new cultural centre, at present unknown but of the utmost importance for the future. This is the region of the venerable but self-opinionated Irish-Celtic monastic culture, which differed in many usages from the rest 210 of Christianity. Though coming originally from Ireland, in the VIth century its centre was the island of Iona. The 'Scoti' spread over the coasts of the Irish Sea into Scotland, Walks, Brittany (Armorica), and later over the whole of the western Continent. At the dawn of the VIIth century the evangelization of the eastern parts of the Frankish kingdom begins from Luxeuil, founded in 610 by St. Columban. The foundation of St. Gall, soon to become a great cultural centre, follows in 612, to be followed in its turn by Bobbio in Lombardy. In Italy itself, the cradle of the Ancient World, there still lived at the beginning of the century the last representatives of the dying Latinity-the • philosopher Boetlfius, condemned to death by Theodoric, and the rhetorician Cassiodorus, who died at Vivarium in Calabria, a foundation which can be seen as the last library of Latin antiquity and the first mediaeval scriptorium. Both Boethius and Cassiodorus can be honoured as 'the founders of the Middle 191

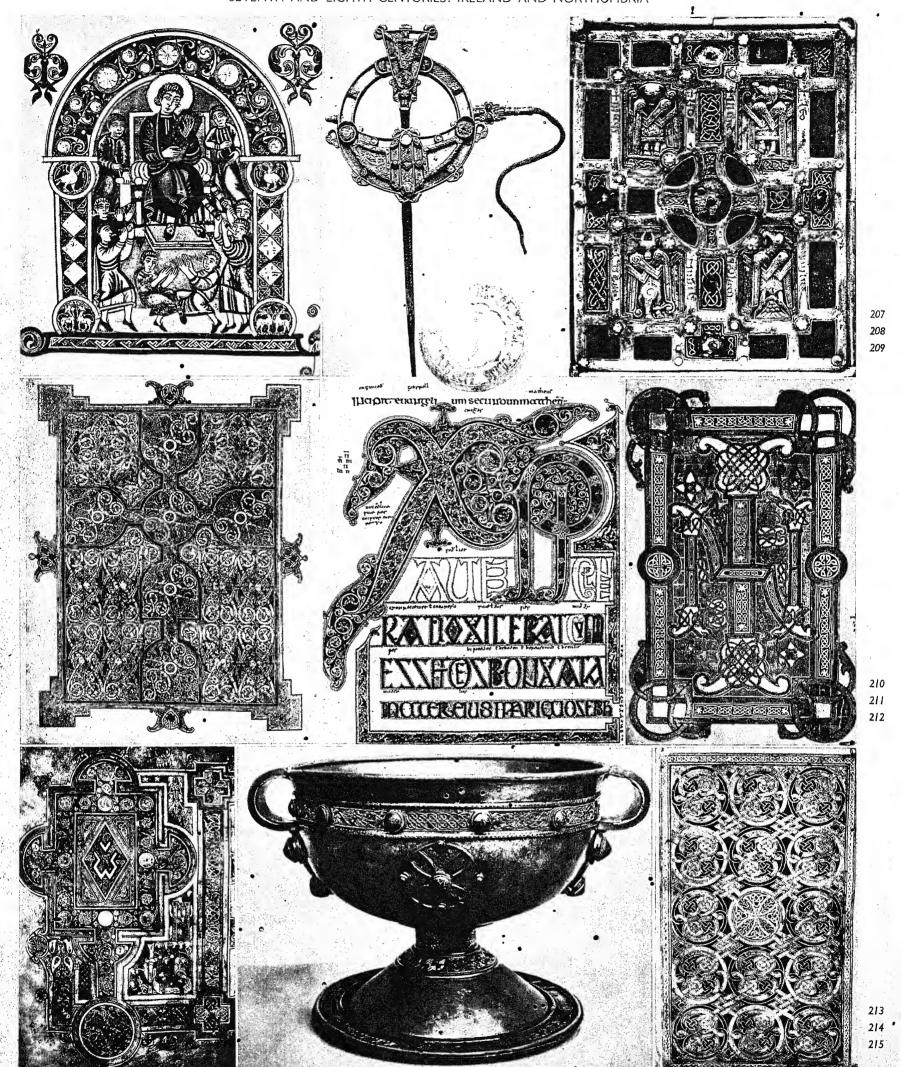
Towards the end of the century, in an unhappy Rome, often beleaguered and finally ruled by the exarch from Ravenna, lived yet another man who was to be a teacher of the coming centuries - Gregory the Great, the most attractive and most noble figure of the period. Not only as head of the Universal Church, but also as de facto governor of the Eternal City, Gregory represented the highest moral authority of the West. It was he who took St. Augustine from the monastery on the Caelian Hill (which he had founded in his ancestral palace) and sent him to the Anglo-Saxons. Besides being the spiritual father of the English Church, St. Gregory also wrote the life of his own spiritual father, a certain young nobleman from the little Umbrian town of Nursia who, about 500 A.D., abandoned the city life of the disintegrating world of his time and after a long period of experiment wrote a rule for monastic communities in which Romans and Barbarians could live together within the framework of an agricultural unit - not however with any cultural objective, but as in a 'school for the service of God'. This man, virtually unknown in his own lifetime, died in 574 A.D. on Monte Cassino, a monastery between Naples and Rome - his name was Benedict. Through the wisdom and piety which he handed down in his little Rule he deserves, even more than Gregory the Great or Boethius the philosopher, the title of 'Father of the West'.

THE WORLD OF ISLAM

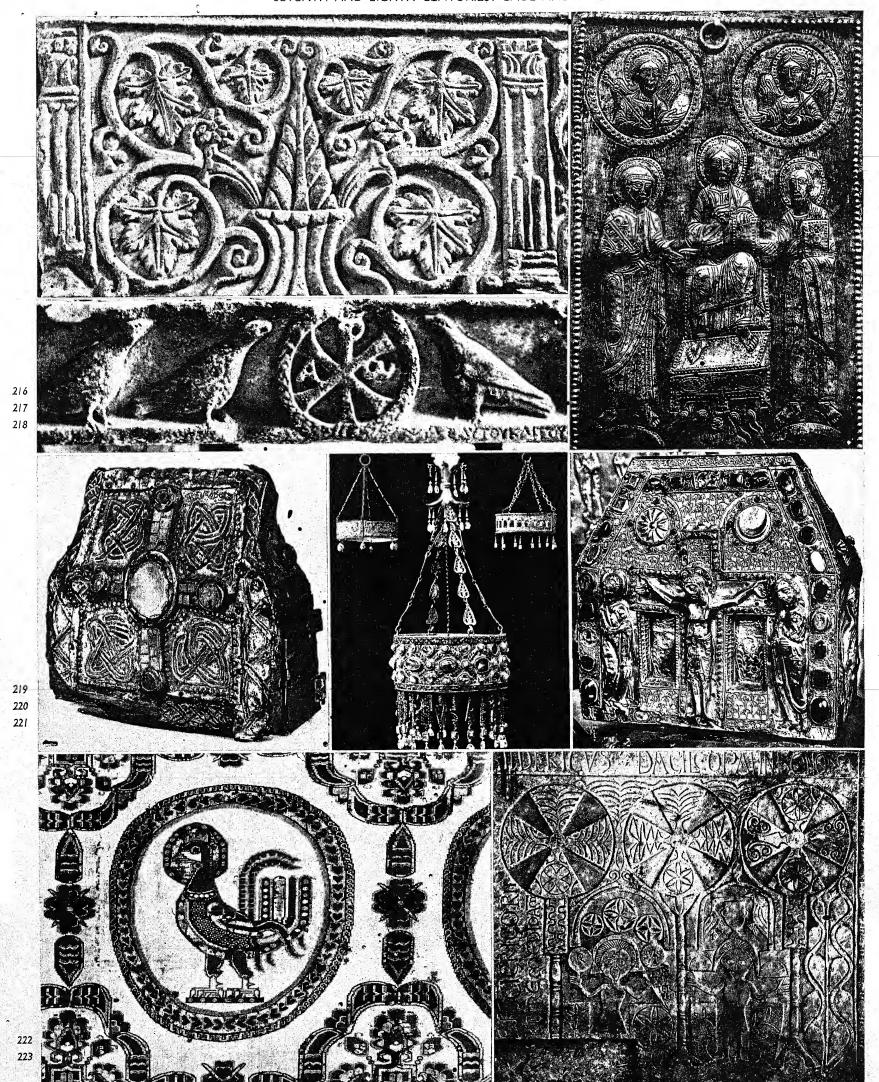
Suddenly, in the second quarter of the VIIth century, there arose in the Arabian desert a spiritual hurricane which was to overturn and sweep away everything in the hinterland of the Justinian Empire that was not of firm foundation. Within a few generations the apostles of 'total submission' - the creed of Islam, as preached at Medina by Mahomet, 'the last and the seal of the prophets, greater than Ibrahim and Isa' - were masters of Damascus, Antioch, Alexandria and Ctesiphon. The Holy Flaces of Jerusalem, devastated by the Persians in 614 and only recently somewhat restored by the patriarch Modestus after the liberation by the Emperor Heraclius and the Exaltation of the True



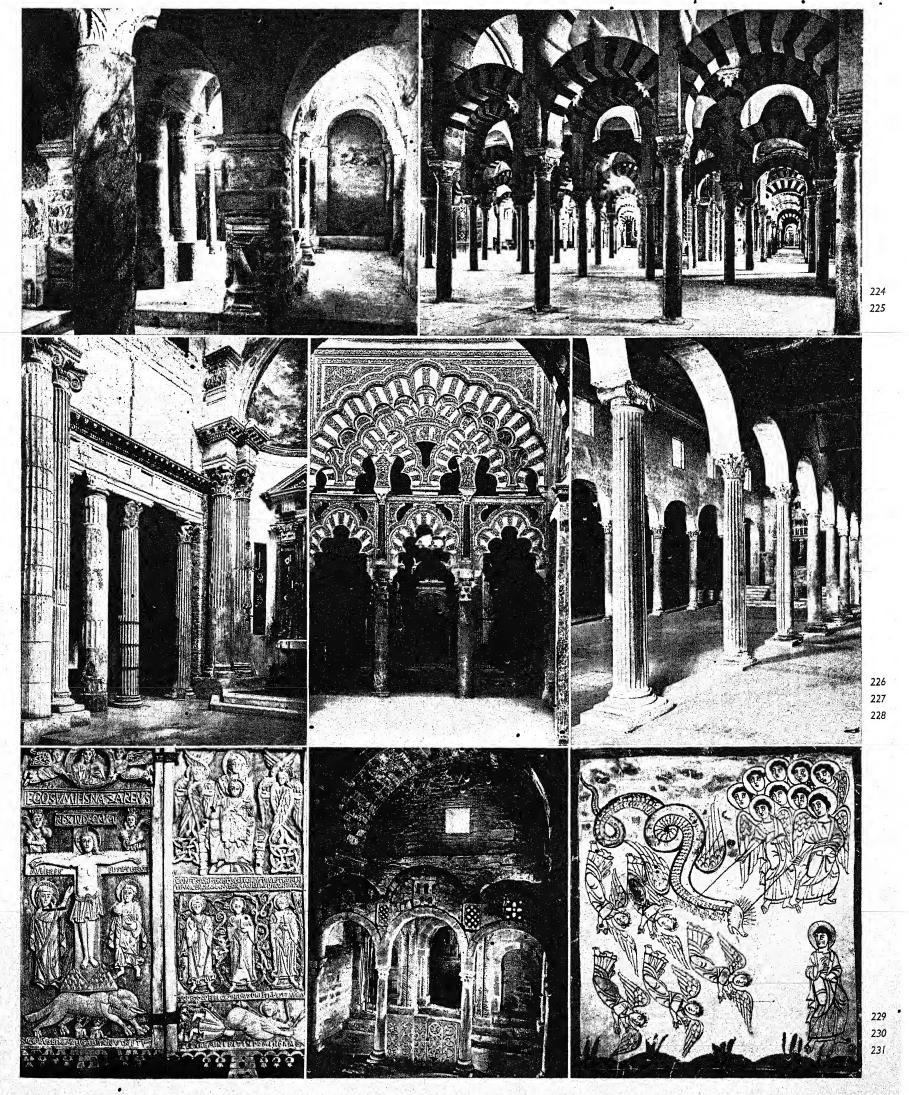
198-200/ jerusalem, the Dome of the Rock, 691. L., detail of the cupola, with mosaics; centre, the mosque; r., the canopy of the cupola. 201/ Ravenna, S. Apollinare in Classe. Baldachino and altar (surmounted by ancient sarcophagus). 202/ Rome, Santa Maria Antiqua. The Crucifixion, fresco (cf. no. 210). 203/ St. Sebastian; VIIth cent. votive mosaic in St. Peter-in-Chains, Rome. 204/ Lid of reliquary from the Holy Land. From bottom to top: the Incarnation, Baptism, Crucifixion, the Women at the Tomb (picture of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church at Jerusalem), and the Ascension. An example of Syrian iconography. The Vatican, Museo Cristiano. 205/ Detail from chancel, Cathedral of Aquileia. Example of barbarian sculpture. 206/ Three saints from Salona, mosaic in the chapel of S. Venanzio in the baptistery of the Lateran at Rome.



207/ David and his Singers. Canterbury Psalter, ca. 700. Anglo-Saxon, copied from motif of late antiquity. 208/ Ornamental pin from Tara, Ireland. Dublin, National Museum. 700-750. 209/ Ornamental covering (cumhdach) of Gospels of St. Molaise. Dublin, National Museum. 1001-1025. 210/ Leaf from Lindisfarne Gospels, 700. London, British Museum. 211/ From the same MS.: the opening of St. Matthew's Gospel (CHRISTI AUTEM GENERATIO SIC ERAT CUM ESSET DESPONSATA MATER EIUS MARIA IOSEPH). 212/ Opening of St. John, late IXth cent. Gospel. London, British Museum. 213/ Opening of St. Luke (QUONIAM) in the Book of Kells. Dublin, National Museum. 214/ The chalice of Ardagh (Ireland). Dublin, National Museum. 750. 215/ Leaf from the Book of Durrow. Dublin, National Museum.



216/ Centrepiece of VIIth cent. sarcophagus. Toulouse, Musée des Augustins. 217/ (below) Front of altar table, late Vth cent. Marseilles, Musée Borély. 218/ Lid of reliquary, late VIIth cent. The Vatican, Museo Cristiano. 219/ Reliquary of St.-Bonnet-Avalouze (Corrèze), VIIth cent. A specimen of Merovingian art. 220/ Votive crowns of King Reccesswinth, ca. 670, found at Guarrazar near Toledo. Visigothic. Paris, Musée de Cluny. 221/ Reliquary of Peppin I of Aquitaine, early IXth cent. Conques, treasure of Ste. Foy. Specimen of Carolingian art (cf. no. 219). 222/ Silk material from the East, with the Persian motif of the hen. The Vatican, Museo Cristiano. Valuable relics were preserved in this sort of material. 223/ Ferentillo, S. Pletro. Altar decoration of 'Hildericûs Dagileopa' with barbarian reliefs. VIIIth cent.



224/ Crypt of the Abbey of Jouanne, Vilth cent. 225/ The Great Mosque of Cordova, begun late Vilith cent. and enlarged in IXth and Xth cents. The columns have been taken from Visigothic basilicas. 226/ Spoleto, San Salvatore. Probably Vilith cent., though possibly Vth cent. 227/ Cordova, Great Mosque. Arches of IXth cent., in front of 2nd mihrab; view through to 3rd mihrab, of Xth cent. 228/ Rome, S. Giorgio in Velabro, Vilith cent. 229/ Diptych from Rambona near Ancona. Crucifixion, with Roman she-wolf and Romulus and Remus, and the Mother of God enthroned among the cherubim. Probably late IXth cent. 230/ Pola de Lena (near Oviedo, Asturia). Sta. Cristina. Small IXth cent. mountain church. 231/ The Apocalypse of Trier, Stadtbibliothek, cod. 31. The fall of the angels and the fight with the dragon. Pre-Carolingian copy of an early Christian design. [cf. map 17]

Cross', fell into the hands of the Mahometans. The first important monument 198 of the new faith, the Dome of the Rock, rose in the Holy City on the empty 200 site of the ancient Jewish Temple. The Dome took the form of a proto-Byzantine commemorative rotunda, built indeed by a Christian, without images, altar or priest; it was simply a space for prayer with a Qibla, or niche, indicating the direction of Mecca. That sanctuary was a symbol of the new situation. The sons of Agar – whom the Crusaders were later to call the Agarenes – had inherited the very ground of the Temple of God in succession to the children of Sara and the disciples of Christ. As for the culture of the land which the newcomers had occupied, they took it over and adapted it to their own requirements.

In these few years Christianity had lost its ancient centres of development and expansion: Syria, Mesopotamia, a part of Asia Minor, Armenia and Georgia, and it was soon to lose Cyrenaica and North Africa as well. Less than a hundred years later the Khalifate occupied a larger area than the Roman Empire under Trajan; around 750 it stretched from the coasts of Morocco and Saragossa to beyond the Indus, and from Aden to beyond the Caucasus and Transoxania. Map 16 depicts both the development and the apogee of the Islamic world, and covers the period from 612, when Mahomet left his native town for Medina, to around 1200, when the glory of the Arab world began to wane and when the period of the Crusades began. The events which it covers run parallel with maps 17–20 which depict the corresponding events of Western civilization.

What is immediately striking is the pitiful and defensive attitude of Christen dom, especially in the West. The Eastern Roman Empire held its essential territories, albeit with difficulty and with a constantly uncertain eastern frontier. But the Western Empire had contracted into a sort of island fortress, under fire from all sides. First Spain and Sicily were lost to Islam, then southern Italy; indeed the whole of Italy, culturally speaking, was absorbed into the Eastern Roman Empire. Then, after a momentary triumph, the British Isles and the coasts of the Carolingian Empire were lost to the Vikings. Finally, the eastern territories were yielded up to the Hungarians and Slavs.

In the overall picture of general cultural history the culture of the Islamic territories can be seen as the final result of a sort of general revanche by the non-Hellenic East. The first great centres of Islam lie on the eastern frontiers.

225 of the ancient Hellenistic world – Damascus, Fustat (later to become Cairo), Samarra and Bagdad. A little later they shifted to Persia and Transoxania,

227 while at the extreme western corner Morocco and Cordova belonged to the same spiritual world. We may well ask ourselves what connexion this had with Christendom and with the West. In the eyes of Christendom, this puritan theocracy which had so suddenly arisen could not be confused with paganism, for Islam opposed idolatry, but tolerated the progeny of Abraham, Jews and Christians, who at least recognized the worship of a single God. Islam therefore constituted a mysterious anti-Christian arch-heresy; Christians considered that to embrace Islam was not only to deny Christ, but also to adopt another social system and way of life.

Almost everywhere the Muslim occupation involved a complete absorption into Muslim culture. The principal basilicas were either transformed into mosques, or else, as at Kairouan, demolished and rebuilt as mosques on the colonnaded pattern. The former Christian populations apostatized to Mahome- 225 tanism, though in Syria and Egypt there survived a Christian minority, and certain ancient communities, such as the Armenians and the Georgians, eventually regained their liberty. Mozarabic Christendom survived in Spain, which, though formerly under the Visigoths, had been conquered and converted to Catholicism by Reccared. But in such territories as North Africa which, next to Italy, was once the centre of Western Christendom, no trace of Christianity survived - over 600 dioceses have disappeared from the map. For Christendom, the world of Islam was a direct antithesis and a constant menace. But nonetheless, Islam made a decisive contribution to the cultural history of the West. For a part of the Hellenic heritage, especially in the fields of mathematics, astronomy, geography, and philosophy, came back to the Christian West at the end of the XIIth century via Spain and Italy in translations from the Arabic or in translations into Arabic by Islamic scholars.

For within the apparently narrow theocratic world of Islam there was from the beginning a subdued conflict between a rigid and obscurantist piety and the desire to reconcile on a rational basis the facts of Revelation - in this case the Koran and Tradition - with the scientific conception of the world which still survived in the schools and among the savants of the formerly Hellenistic countries. In these occupied territories the Arabs had found the Nestorian and Monophysite schools with their translations of Greek authors in Syriac, a language allied to Arabic. Thanks to the liberal attitude of certain Khalifs and to the intelligence both of the occupiers and the occupied, there arose at the court of Bagdad (where also lived St. John Damascene, the first great doctor of the Greek Church) an intense intellectual activity which reached its peak around 800-850. To this milieu we owe the Arabic numerals, the zero, the decimal system and algebra. It bequeathed us also a veritable library of translations and treatises on virtually all the topics of Hellenistic science, to say nothing of the Arab poetry that penetrated into the West and the decorative patterns of Perso-Arabic architecture and minor art. Im- 225 mediately after the era of Bagdad came that of Transoxania, where in the 227 North of the formerly Hellenistic kingdom of Bactria there had been born in the IX th ~ and ~ X th ~ centuries ~ the ~ great ~ scholars ~ who ~ translated ~ Plato ~ and ~ Aristotleinto Arabic. Some of them, like Ibn Sina, were to exercise much influence on the development of mediaeval scholasticism.

So it was that in this out-of-the-way corner of the formerly Hellenistic World, which had never belonged to the Roman Empire and which was but an isolated outpost of Greek civilization, the Arabian thinkers prepared the way for the mediaeval synthesis between faith and science. The world of Islam took away from Christianity her old cultural centres; she drove back the Faith and the Empire; but she gave back the heritage of Hellas, revised and transformed, through these unexpected channels.

MEDIAEVAL CHRISTIANITY

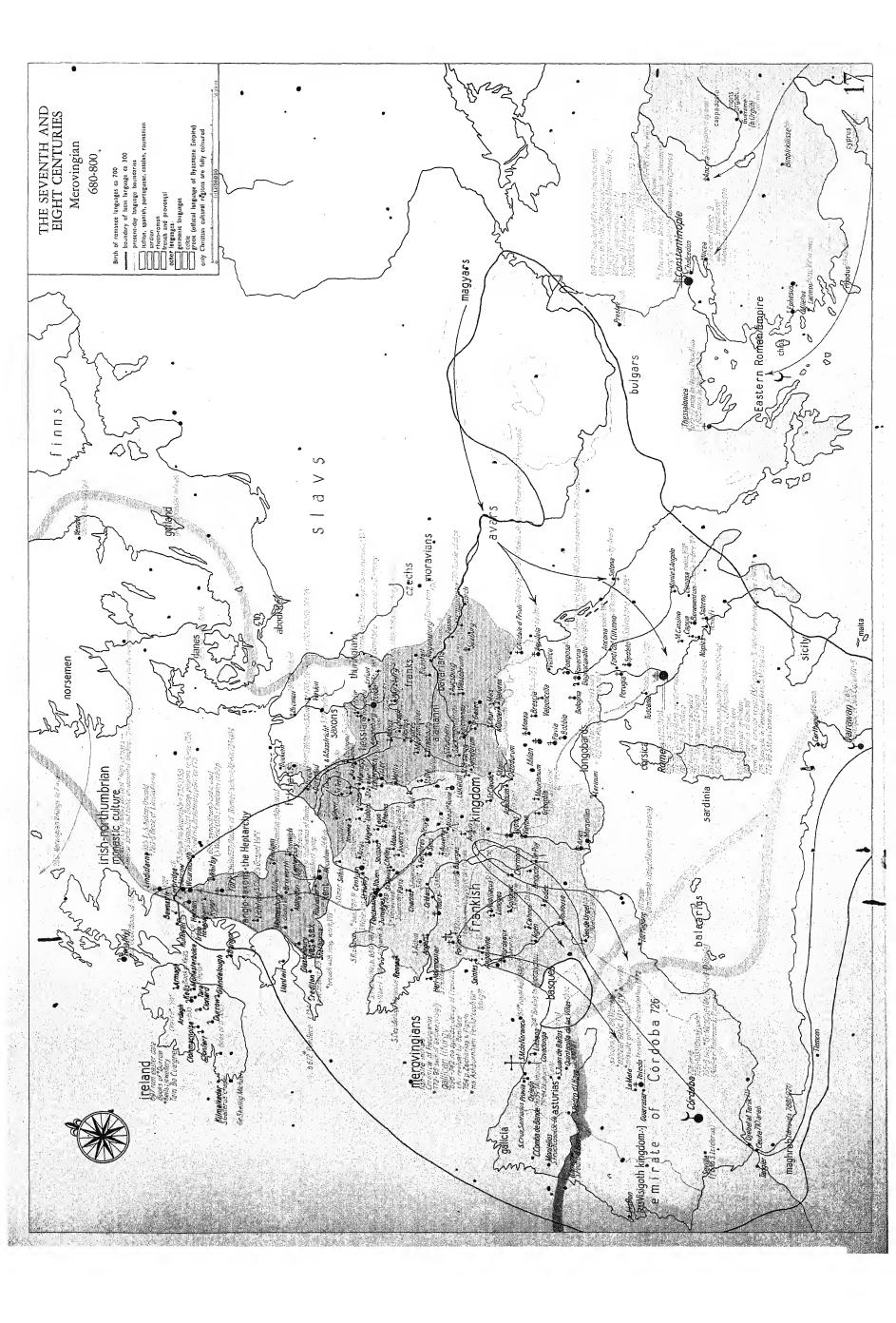
THE BARBARIAN CENTURIES

HE map of the VIIth and VIIIth centuries (map 17) reveals two crucial moments for the West – the conversion of the Barbarians and the birth of the 'Romance' languages. The former takes place outside, the latter inside, the frontiers of the former Empire.

Of the three bases of the West – the Empire, the classical tradition, and the Church – the Empire had disappeared and was little more than a concept and a noble memory. The classical tradition had disappeared with the collapse of the school system which occurred in Gaul in the course of the VIth century and in Italy after the Lombard invasion. Only the third basis, the Church, held fast. It can even be claimed that in a certain sense the episcopal sees preserved the framework of the old Empire and the prestige of the old Italian cities, and in themselves constituted the only forms of civic culture. The bishops in fact took over the functions of the former Roman officials, and became the true defenders of the civitas, even in its temporal concerns. The only surviving factor of the old culture was faith, and the government of the faithful lay in the hands of their ecclesiastical leaders. What stand out on the maps of the cultural history of this period are not the changeable residencies – half-courts, half-farms – of the barbarian kings, but the episcopal towns, and

even more the numberless abbeys so perfectly adapted to the new agrarian society.

The ruling caste was the clergy, but the dominant force in spiritual affairs was not so much the average prelate of Merovingian Gaul (who was all too frequently a creature of the barbarian ruler), but rather the monks and the bishop-monks, who were generally of excellent education. The primary function of this ruling class was not merely the copying of manuscripts but rather the Christianization of the Barbarians inside the old imperial frontiers, and the assimilation, and indeed the conversion, of those outside. It is not surprising, therefore, that this map is full of the names of great missionaries. What is surprising, though, is that they mostly come, not from Rome or Italy, as had Augustine the founder of the see of Canterbury, but from the Irish and the Northumbrian monastic centres. After many misunderstandings the Celtic and the Romano-Benedictine monks had joined forces and spread over the Continent to the very borders of the Frankish kingdom to bring the Good Tidings to their pagan blood-relations. They themselves were not Romans, but, as in the case of the Anglo-Saxons, Christians of the second or third generation. To leave their own fatherland, which they called 'peregrinari',



was for them in itself a form of spiritual ascesis; to preach was a natural consequence of this which they consciously accepted. Their activity was a decisive event; it was the second great phase in missionary activity after the apostles. Their method was everywhere the same. They devoted their attention to communities whose social structure was the clan, and when they had converted the chieftains the rest of the clan automatically followed suit. They established everywhere, as firm outposts, monasteries which followed the Rule of St. Benedict and which were open to the recent converts. Their work undoubtedly suffered from the protection accorded them by the Frankish Empire, but it is difficult to see how they could otherwise have survived. Thanks to St. Boniface, indeed, the Church of the Frankish Empire was saved from the collapse to which lay control over spiritual functions had rendered it liable. And the Anglo-Saxon missionaries not only reconciled Celtic Christendom in England with the Holy See and with the rites of the rest of Christendom, but also kept France, the oldest daughter of the Western Church, united with Rome. In 756 Pepin made his 'Donation' to the Holy See, the first symbol of that collaboration and that tension which was to govern the relations between the two great powers of the Middle Ages: between the pope, who was also a temporal sovereign, and the Emperor, who was also a Christian leader. By his 'donation' Pepin offered the See of Peter the territories which were to become the Papal States, and in return the pope recognized the indubitable power of the Carolingian dynasty which had liberated him from the Lombard menace while the Byzantine emperor had stood passively by. In a few years, at the tomb of St. Peter, another pope was to consecrate another Carolingian as Roman Emperor, independent of the Byzantines. From the time of this rebirth of the Empire, the West was permanently separated from the Greek East.

One after the other the Barbarians outside the imperial frontiers, the Alamans, the Hessians, the Thuringians and the Frisians, were won over to Christendom. The Saxons, however, were not converted till the following epoch. Meanwhile the Avars had devastated the old Christian centres of Salona in Dalmatia, and Aquileia in Venetia, and their respective populations fled to Rome, to Grado and to the lagoon on which rose the city of Venice. The Arabs, too, had ravaged the West Gothic empire in Spain and had reached Narbonne, Autun and Clermont when Charles Martel defeated them at Poitiers in 732, and drove them back over the Pyrenees. At the same period the Bulgarians founded their great empire, with its capital Preslav, at the very gates of Constantinople. The Greek Empire fell under an eastern dynasty which unloosed the Iconoclast conflict – a conflict which was not only directed against the consequences of the Incarnation but also against the forms of Christian humanism – and thus brought the very orthodoxy of the Greek Church into danger. Only the Lombards became Catholic.

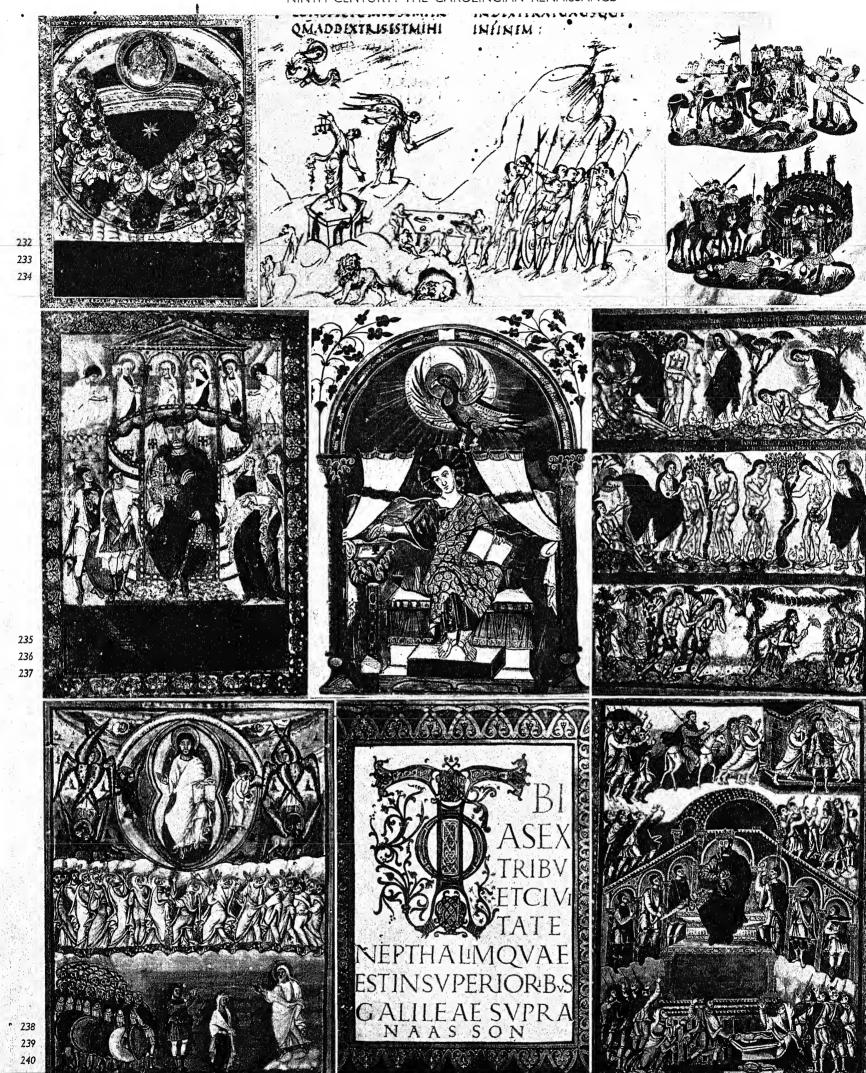
The VIIth and VIIIth centuries have therefore with justice been called the 'barbarian centuries'. Western Christianity seems sometimes to be on the very point of disappearing, and the overall picture is one of regression. The only rays of hope come from some distant monasteries by the Scots border, Wearmouth and Jarrow, where the Venerable Bede lived, and Lindisfarne, b-11 where the masterpiece of Celtic illumination was probably produced, and further south, the small diocesan cities of Canterbury and York. Between the Loire and the Rhine there are certainly innumerable monastic foundations, of which many were to endure for centuries and to achieve distinction. But for the rest it is regression.

The Schools were dead, and since Isidore of Seville the cataloguing of the surviving relics of Antiquity had ceased. Eastern Christendom was in the hands of barbarians who seemed to outdo the Arab puritans in persecuting the monks and destroying the holy icons. Rome itself was swamped with 22-3 Greek, Syrian and Dalmatian refugees to such an extent that her very liturgy was Byzantinized – a process which included the introduction of feasts in honour of Our Lady. And at Cordova, not far from the city of St. Isidore, 225 Abd Rahman I began to construct his famous mosque from the truncated

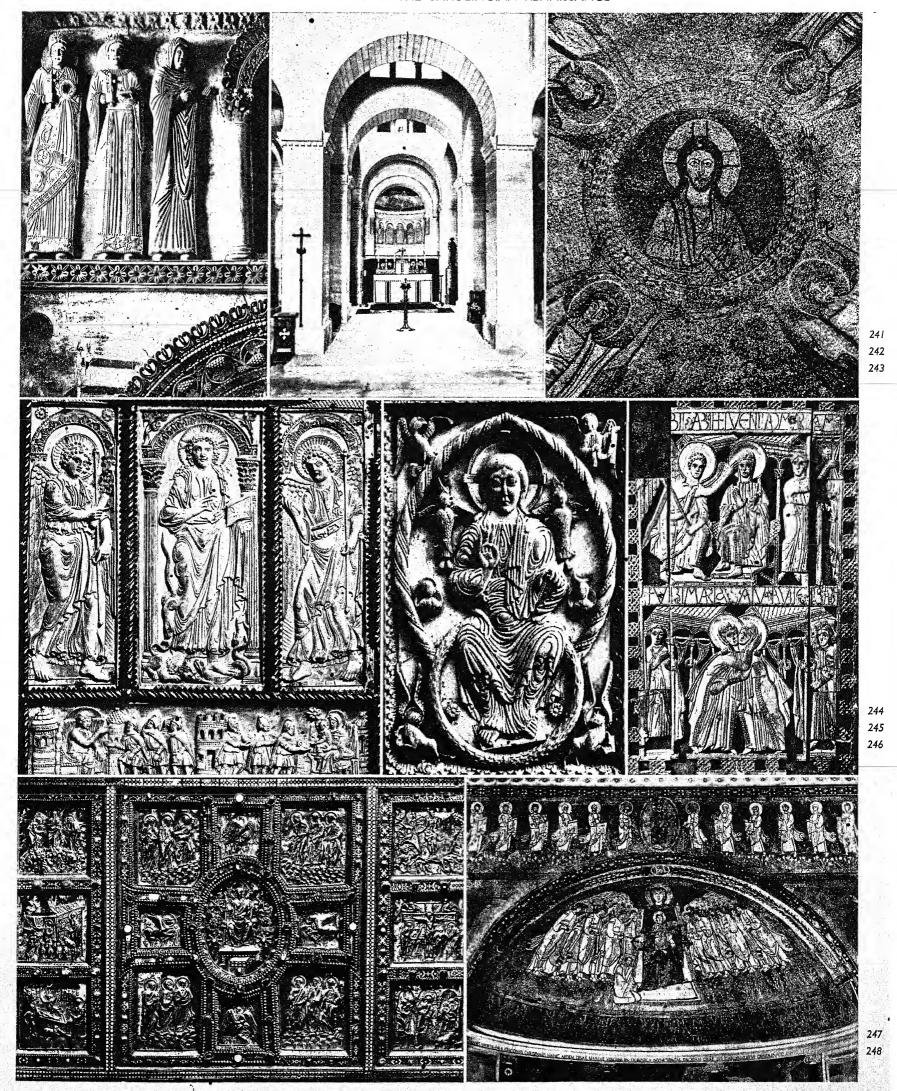
pillars of the Visigothic basilicas he had destroyed. This mosque was to serve as a lasting reminder to Christendom that behind the Pyrenees there lay a more powerful culture, enveloping the southern Mediterranean like a crescent moon, with one tip on the shores of the Atlantic and the other in the heart of Asia, not far from the frontiers of China.

It is however this same torso of the Old Empire, populated by barbarized Romans and with Christianized Germans on its frontiers, that was to be the cradle of mediaeval Christianity. And it is partly due to the new element, the Barbarians, that this Christianity developed such a great vitality that it eventually overshadowed the Arab world, its antithesis, and the Byzantine world, its counterpart - two worlds which seemed at that moment to be so immutably superior. This is a fact which from now on becomes increasingly evident. In contrast to a Byzantium preoccupied with constantly repetitive. dignified clichés and elegant and subtle variations on older themes, comes the barbarian but soon to be Latinized West, with its spontaneous and startingly original creations. In the VIIth and VIIIth centuries there are the Celtic miniatures, insular script, and the 'high crosses' in England. In the IXth century there 207 was the scholarly but bold adoption of the whole late Latin heritage that was 215 still available - script, miniatures, ivories, architectural types, scholastic 232 authors and all. In the Xth century the miniatures of Reichenau represent the flowering of Christo-German expressionism (map 19). In the XIth and 252 XIIth centuries there comes within a few decades a rapidly rising stream of artistic developments, all variants of the 'Roman' basilica: the portal, the 295 richly turreted abbey church, the stained-glass window, and the rebirth of monumental sculpture - and then, immediately on top of that, the development of early Gothic. In the same period, in a different field, we see the development of Latin poetry and Bernardine prose; in other words a living mediaeval Latin. Victorine and Bernardine mysticism flourishes beside the dialectic of Abelard and the later development of scholastic theology and philosophy. Finally, in the vernacular, we have the rise of epic poetry and the Provençal lyric.

•The least remarkable of all these creations is the rise of a vernacular literature. This could not have taken place without the growth of the 'Romance' languages which all derived from Latin: Italian, Spanish; Catalan, Portuguese, French, Rheto-Roman, Sardinian and Rumanian. This growth of the vernacular languages is a decisive event in the history of western culture and takes place in the VIIth and VIIIth centuries. The process had already begun in the time of Augustus and was due to the gradual disappearance of the terminations in spoken vulgar Latin, thus making it an analytic language. Formerly everything was contained in the single word, but now the pronouns and auxiliary verbs began to develop, and the aspirative accent of the vernacular eliminated the former musical and quantitative accent. The Church too, with her compact biblical language, drove the written language more and more towards the vernacular in many ways. Naturally, the formal school Latin remained for centuries as the primary cultural language, properly speaking; for it was the language of the Church and it was soon to become the primary language of the Schools after their revival in the Carolingian Renaissance. Nevertheless there was also the 'lingua rustica romana', the 'teutiscan' of the Council of Tours (815), and one of the first documents to be written in it is the Oaths of Strasburg of 842. In Italy the epitaph of Pope Gregory V, dated 999, speaks of him as a man of 'three languages', and is thus one of the earliest indications of the conscious recognition of vulgar Latin as a true language. From this humble origin were born those incomparable instruments of thought, Spanish, Italian, and above all French, the Greek of the West. But we know scarcely anything of their development in the dark barbarian ages of those Merovingian saints whose 'vitae' were recorded in an almost formless church Latin, and of whom we possess no portraits, because no one in the West, was any longer capable of drawing even a stylized shape, let alone a portrait.

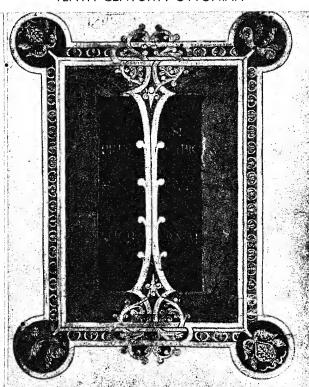


232/ The Adoration of the Lamb by the 24 Ancients. Codex Aureus of St. Emmeran. Munich, Staatsbibliothek. 233/ Utrecht Psalter, foi. 8v: illustration of Ps. 16. Specimen of textual illustration, picture by picture and verse by verse. Utrecht, University Library. 234/ Miniature from the Golden Psalter, St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 22. The figures are in costumes of the IXth cent. 235/ Charles the Fat and the four cardinal virtues. Miniature frontispiece from the Bible of St. Paul-without-the-Walls, Rome. Illuminated at St.-Denis, 880-888. 236/ St. John the Evangelist, evangelarium of Lorgch, early IXth cent. Vatican Library. 237/ Bible of St. Paul-without-the-Walls. Genesis. 238/ The same MS.: the visions of Isaias and the prophecy of the Virgin Birth. 239/ The same MS.: the beginning of the Book of Tobias. 240/ The same MS.: the third Book of Kings (the Anointing and Judgement of Solomon).



241/ Cividale, Sta. Maria-in-Valle, stucco figures. 242/ Germigny-des-Prés (Loiret). Cruciform church of the villa of Theodulf, bishop of Orleans. 243/ Rome, Sta. Prassede, mosaic in the cupola of the chapel of St. Zeno, 817-824. 244/ Ivory binding of the Lorsch evangelarium. Christ crushing underfoot the Ifon and the dragon. Below, the Adoration of the Magi. The Vatican, Museo Cristiano. 245/ Christ in His Majesty surrounded by the symbols of the four evangelists. Ivory bookbinding. Berlin. 246/ The Annunciation and Visitation. Ivory from Genoels-Elderen. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. Late VIIIth cent. 247/ Centrepiece of golden antependium (palietto) by the goldsmith Wolvinius. Milan, high altar of St. Ambrose. 248/ Rome, Sta. Maria in Domnica. Apsidal mosaics and triumphal arch with Pope Paschal I at the feet of the Mother of God. 817-824. An example of the disappearance of the feeling for graphic delineation.





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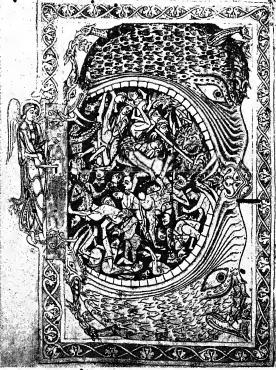
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249/ The beginning of St. Luke (QUONIAM), Reichenau, ca. 1000. Utrecht, Archiepiscopal Museum. 250/ The same MS.: the beginning of St. John (IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBUM). 251/ The same MS.: specimen of the script. The MS. is an evangelistarium or pericope, containing passages from the Gospels for the different liturgical feasts. 252/ The Arrest of Jesus, Codex Egherti, Reichenau, 980. Trier, Stadtbibliothek. 253/ The same MS.: dedication, with bishop Eghert and his scribes. 254/ The same MS.: Pentecost. 255/ Illustration of Ps. 25 v. 6 ('I will wash my hands among the innocent, and will compass thy altar O Lord'). Stuttgart Psalter, Xth cent. 256/ The Son of Man and the Seven Churches. Commentary of Beatus on the Apocalypse. Mozarabic MS., Xth cent. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library. 257/ Hell, Winchester Psalter, XIIth cent.; cf. no. 256 for contrast between Xth and Xlth cent. styles.





About 800 the harassed West could breathe again; Charles the Great restored the Christian Empire which had been unobtrusively extinguished in the course of the Vth century. It was not by chance that he has become a legendary figure and shares with Constantine and Theodosius the title of 'the Great'. For after the oppression and chaos of the beginning of the VIIIth century he had restored the Empire and laid the foundations of a cultural renaissance within its frontiers. At his death the Empire stretched from Barcelona to Denmark and the Elbe, and from Monte Cassino to the Channel. From the Emir of Cordova he had wrested the Spanish March, which was to become in later ages the nursery of so much Romanesque architecture. He annihilated the plundering Avars on the banks of the Danube, he put an end to the Lombard kingdom and thus joined Italy (except for the half-Byzantine south) to the northern Frankish Empire, soon to be the 'Holy Roman Germanic Empire'. For the first time the West formed a complete entity. To the north lay the cultural focus of the previous period - the Anglo-Saxon civilization with its capital at York; to the south there lay the heroic Christian bridgehead into the land of the Emirs - the Asturias, which was to be the origin of Catholic Spain.

The culture that Charlemagne restored was the old Christian culture of the Constantinian and Theodosian Empire. He accomplished the work himself, from the top, by means of detailed laws (capitularia) and also by means of a kind of international 'brains trust' under the leadership of Alcuin, an Anglo-Saxon savant from York. The leading spirits of the time, though mostly belonging to such centres as Fulda (founded by St. Boniface), came from many nations. There was the Visigoth Theodore of Orleans (founder of the little country church of Germigny-les-Prés, which still exists today), and the Lombard Paul the Deacon; there were the Italians Peter of Pisa and Paulinus of Aquileia; there were the Frenchmen Agobard, St. Angilbert (architect of the imposing turreted Centula), Einhard the biographer, and Servatus Lupus of Ferrières the classicist; and there were the Irish, Dungal, Dicuil, and the brilliant wandering Platonist John Scotus Erigena, who knew Greek and who translated the pseudo-Dionysius. But all were united in a common cause.

What the Emperor wanted was a Christian culture in an ecclesiastical state administered by an executive of efficient and cultured officials (principally bishops and abbots) working under his personal direction. He wanted a culture on the old Christian model, and up to the old Roman standards, and he saw in the Imperial Church the instrument to achieve this. Everything had. to be Roman - basilicas, iconography, language, schools and liturgy. And everything had to be genuine - so he had the text of the Bible revised at Tours in the light of the best ancient mss. Further, the alphabetic script was improved, 232 and there was born the Carolingian minuscule which gradually supplanted the 239 English 'insular' script. He had the Gallican liturgies replaced by the Roman and received for the purpose a type codex from the Pope, the 'Gregorian Sacramentary'. He supported Benedict of Aniane in his monastic reforms and decreed the use of the Rule of St. Benedict for all the great abbeys of the Empire. It was these abbeys - Tours, Hautvillers, Centula (St.-Riquier), Ferrières, Auxerre, Saint-Denis, Corbie, Fulda, St. Gall, Reichenau and Corvey that became the real centres of the Carolingian Renaissance.

This interference had its drawbacks. Charlemagne, a faithful reader of Augustine's De Civitate Dei, was all too frequently inclined to think of himself as a sort of czar-reformer, and such an episode as the conversion of the Saxons after their eventual subjection is a classic example of violent proselytization. Also, in the iconoclast controversy which was then a pressing problem in the Eastern Empire, Charlemagne and his advisers adopted at the Synod of Frankfurt and in the Liber Carolini an unhellenic and typically northern standpoint that ran counter to the Council of Nicaea of 787 and to the policy of the Holy See itself.

But if we stop to consider the result of the Carolingian Renaissance, which 235 under Charles the Bald reached its zenith at the centres of Tours and Saint-Denis, then we cannot fail to observe the deep gulf which separates the preceding barbarian ages from this and the succeeding ages. A decisive revival had indeed taken place. Anyone who doubts this has only to examine the manuscripts of the period and observe the improvements in text, script, illumination and binding.

Before Charlemagne the script is unsure of itself, the text clumsy and full of faults, and no one can draw a human figure. The Celts had conjured up their brilliant but endlessly repetitive binding decorations and intangled the human figure in spirals and convolutions, and the Merovingian scribes had contented themselves with their feeble fish or bird initials. What dominates is the fantastic and formless pattern, which is not to be wondered at from

Nordic peoples who had not known of Graeco-Roman antiquity. It is difficult even for the specialist to make out from the crowded and stylized arabesques of these patterns what is of prehistoric Sarmatic, Germanic or Celtic origin. But on one thing all are agreed; it is a pattern, and in a non-classical manner.

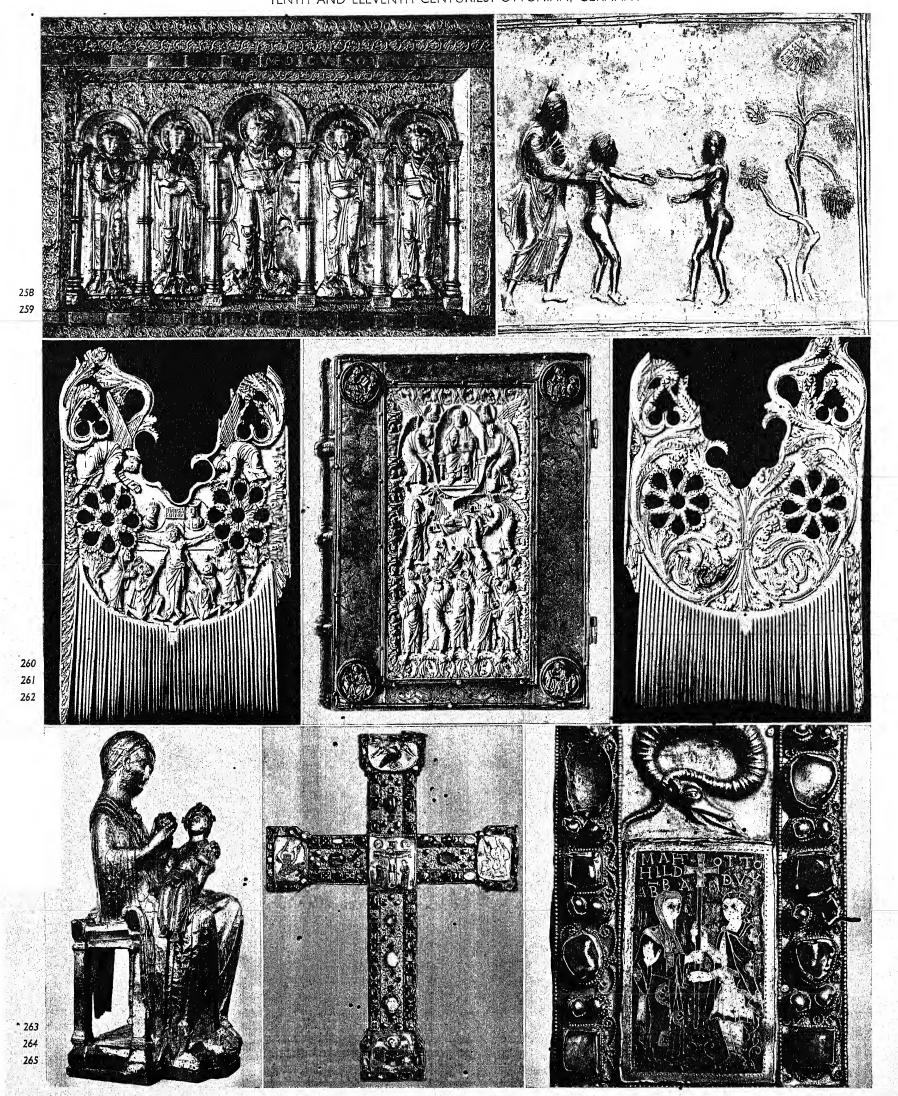
In the Carolingian scriptoria and binderies, on the contrary, they copied painfully and industriously not only the ancient text but also the difficult and elaborate 'illusionistic' miniatures and ivories of late antiquity. Thus there developed a 'Wardour Street' Latin together with a naïvely antiquated figurative style. It was only natural that the copyists should no longer understand the finer points of their models, and they could not reproduce the articulation of the human figure or convey the impression of three-dimensionality. Nonetheless, the portrayal of the human figure came once more to the fore, albeit in murals (an example is preserved in the crypt of the Abbey of St.-Germain at Auxerre), and in ivory binding decorations and in miniatures.

A glance at the plates relating to this period is sufficient to show that this 232-40 century and the two following are the centuries of the book. Nothing embodies 249-59 the culture of this period so much as a large, richly illuminated codex. They are always liturgical books: evangelaria (containing the Gospels), evangelistaria (containing the Gospels arranged for the liturgical year), antiphonaria (containing the anthems), and sacramentaria (containing the fixed prayers 235-40 for the Mass). Then again we find complete Bibles like that of St. Paul-withoutthe-Walls; psalters in which the monarch sometimes had himself depicted as the new David; ecclesiastical histories and copies of the Latin classics; and of course the Carolingian school exercises in Latin poetry and prose.

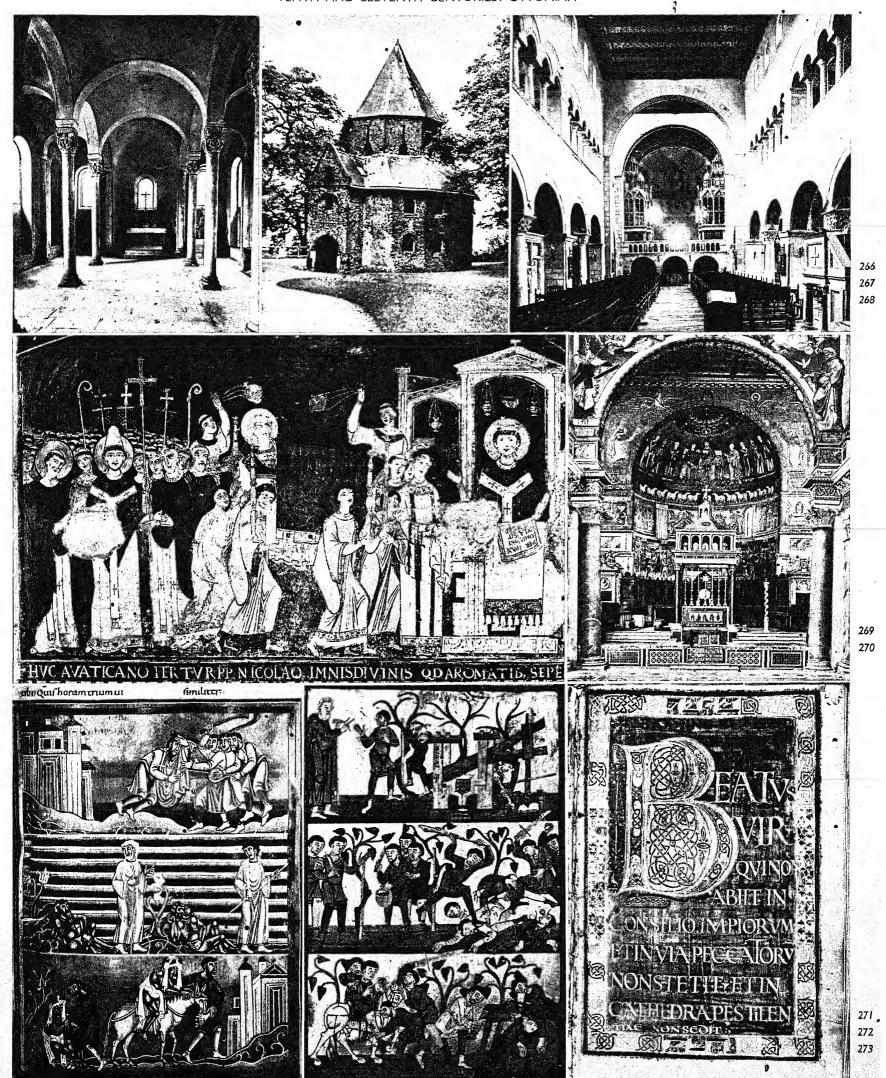
In architecture there was less originality. The palatine chapel at Aix-la-Chapelle was a variant of the rotunda of late antiquity; the basilicas of Fulda and elsewhere copied such Roman models as St. Peter's; and in Rome itself 248 the new churches such as St. Praxedis clung to the old examples. The most original feature was in the adaptation of the old basilica to northern requirements, a development which began earlier but which was now fully completed. It was chiefly in the great abbeys such as Centula that the basilica was transformed from a simple interior into a complex structure with a vertical silhouette with towers, a massive 'West front', porticoes, and a crypt for relics. In the Germanic lands the largest churches retained their Carolingian groundplan till well into the XIIIth century.

The Carolingian Empire with its purely scholastic cultural programme crumbled after the death of Charlemagne. What remained was not a Roman state ruled by clerical officials, but a primitive agrarian community with quarrelsome overlords. Its security was gone, and all that followed was anarchy and chaos, The pagan Vikings from Norway, who in the reign of Charlemagne had already destroyed Irish culture, began their systematic raids on the Western coasts. The Saracen pirates from Aghlabite Tunis plundered Italy and even ravaged the tombs of the Apostles (which led to the first fortification of the Vatican City by Leo IV). The Magyars fell upon Istria and the Germanic lands; in Cordova the Great Mosque grew in proportions to the rising hostility 234 tewards the Christians and many fled to the hills of Asturia. Between 870 and 227 1000 not a single monument in Rome was built or restored, and the Holv See itself was profaned by the creatures of rival families. Throughout the West the monks fled with the relics of their founders into the hinterland, and the translation of St. Philibert to Tournus is a sign of the times. City life survived almost only in Italy, and in the Carolingian lands between the Loire and the Weser the defenceless population rallied round the few strong points. Humanity became divided into lords and their followers, and the feudal community began. But the essential contribution of the Carolingian Renaissance was preserved for better days.

On the map of the Xth century (map 19), justly called the 'iron century', we can see where, from around 950, those better times began. The West is divided into two parts, the German Empire plus Italy, and the kingdom of 257 France. England, liberated from the Danes, has seen the emergence of a renowned scriptorium at Winchester, recently the capital of Alfred the Great. But the secure and constantly flourishing centres lie on the German side, far 249 from the coasts, in the Ottonian Empire. Of these Reichenau, the abbey on the island in Lake Constance, undoubtedly bears the palm. It is there that the 25274 first masterpieces of mediaeval expressionism see the light, manuscripts like the Codex Egberti, the sumptuous manuscripts (including the Apocalypse of 258 1000) ordered by Henry the Saint for the cathedral at Bamberg, and possibly also the altar-frontal of Basel. Nearby lay St. Gall of the two Notkers and the four Ekkehards; further north there was Trier, Echternach and Cologne; to the east Augsburg, Regensburg, Tegernsee and Salzburg. The real centre was Saxony, the region to the west of the see of Magdeburg, founded by Otto I,



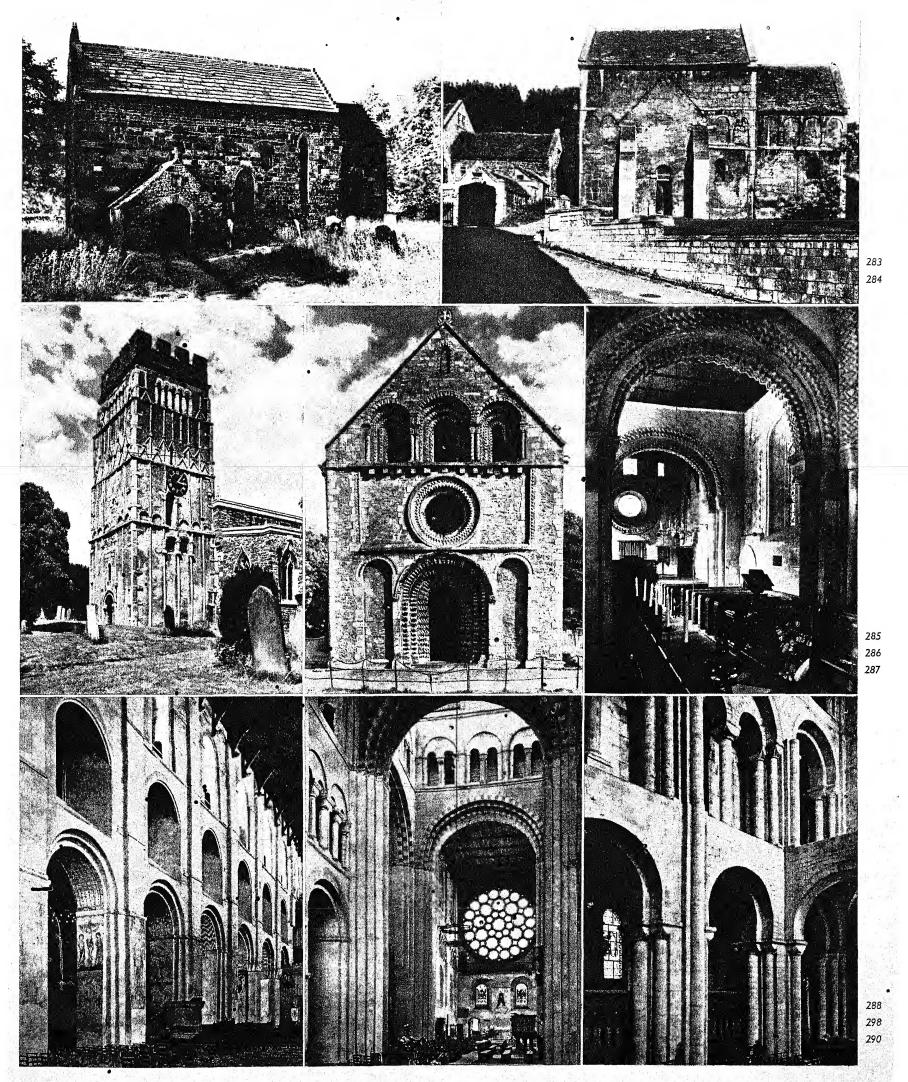
258/ Antependium at Basel, cedarwood with gold mounting. Ca. 1020, probably from Reichenau. St. Benedict, God the Father, and the three Archangels. 259/ Detail from bronze door of Hildesheim Cathedral (from St. Michael): the Creator brings Eve to Adam. Work of bishop Bernward, early XIth cent. 260-262/ Liturgical comb, Ivory; from Metz, early Xth cent. Cologne, Kunstgewerbemuseum. 261/ The Ascension. Ivory from Metz, late IXth cent., set in bookbinding of later period. St. Paul-in-Lavantthal (Carinthia), Stiftsbibliothek. 263/ Virgin and Child, wood with gold mounting. Early XIth cent. Essen, Stiftskirche; one of the oldest surviving devotional statues. 264/ Cruciform reliquary with inlaid enamels of the Crucifixion and the Four Living Creatures. Early, XIth cent. Essen, Stiftskirche. 265/ Detail from the cross of Matilda and duke Otto; enamel, with portraits of the donors (MATHILDE ABBATISSA, OTTO DUX). 993-1011. Essen, Stiftskirche.



266/ Paderborn, chapel of St. Bartholemew. The oldest German 'Hallenkirche', ca. 1017. Built for bishop Meinwerk by Greek craftsmen. 267/ Nijmegen. Palatine chapel on the Valkhof, Xth cent. 268/ Gernrode, St. Cyriac; nave of a Xth cent. convent church. Note the rhythmical impression of the traditional spatial treatment of a basilica. 269/ Translation of the relics of St. Clement from the Chersonese to Rome. Fresco in the lower church of St. Clement, Rome. Xlth cent. R. contemporary picture of the celebration of the Eucharist; note the liturgical vestments and the decoration of the altar. 270/ Rome, Sta. Maria in Trastevere, apse. After 1140. 271/ Parable of the Good Samaritan: Codex Aureus of Henry II, school of Echternach, 1045-1046. Escorial, Spain. 272/ Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard. Codex of St. Bernulph. Utrecht, Archiepiscopal Museum. 273/ Titlepage (Psalm I) of a psalter. After 1000. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek.



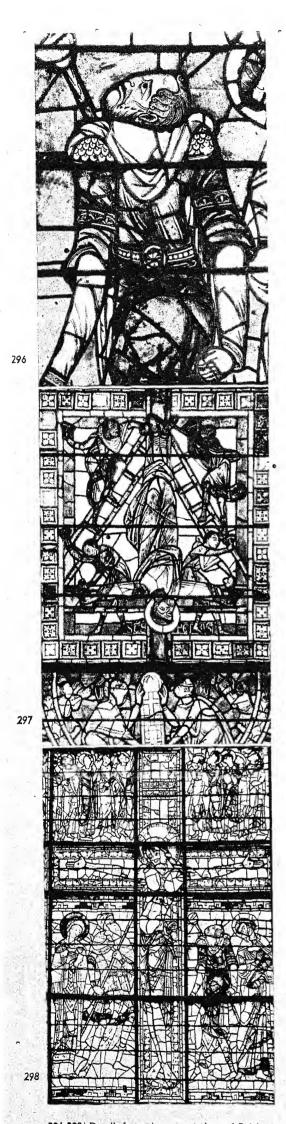
274/ Psalter, ps. 51,1 (QUID GLORIARIS IN MALITIA: Why dost thou glory in malice?). English. London, British Museum. Late Xth cent. 275/ Register of New Minster with portrait of Canute. From Winchester. 1016-1020. London, British Museum. 276/ Ps. 101,1 (DOMINE EXAUDI ORATIONEM MEAM: Lord hear my prayer). English, late Xth cent. London, British Museum. 277/ The Vessels of Wrath. Commentary of Beatus on the Apocalypse. Mozarabic, 1109. London, British Museum. 278/ From an English psalter of the Winchester school, late Xth cent. London, British Museum. 279/ The Annunciation, German, late Xllth cent. (note Byzantine influence). 280/ Christ crowning Gereon and Victor. Ivory, Cologne, early Xlth cent. 281/ Beginning of St. Luke (QUONIAM QUIDEM). From Canterbury, early Xlth cent. London, British Museum. 282/ Man and Eagle. Fragment of binding, Xth cent. Cologne, Kunstgewerbemuseum.



From the pre-Conquest period, 600-1066, only scanty and small buildings survive. Of this 'Saxon' architecture three specimen are given here. 283/ Escomb (Durham) in Northumbria. Built about 700 by abbot Benedict Biscop. 284/ Bradford-on-Avon (Wilts). The porch has disappeared (gable visible). Founded about 700? Decorated 900-1000. 285/ Earls' Barton (Northants.), West tower. About 935. Immediately after 1066, 'Norman' architecture was introduced, the Normans being great builders. 286-287/ Iffley (Oxon.), St. Mary's, West front and view from chancel. 12th cent. (283-287 Courtesy to Mr. Edwin Smith and to Thames & Hudson Ltd., London, publishers of ,,English Parish Churches'', 42/-.) 288-289/ St. Albans (Herts.), abbey church (now cathedral). Early Norman, 1080-1115. 290/ Winchester (Hants.), cathedral. Begun 1079. North transept. (288-290 Courtesy to Atlantis-Verlag, Zürich, publisher of ,,Englische Kathedralen'', by M. Hürlimann.)

The great Norman abbey churches and cathedrals of 1066-1200 in Britain rank among the most grandiose creations of romanesque Europe; in size they surpass the contemporary churches of Caen and Rouen in Normandy itself. 291/ Peterborough (Lincs.), St. Peter's Abbey church (now cathedral). Nave from chancel, 1194-1197. Wooden painted roof 14th cent. 292/ Ely (Cambs.) cathedral. Nave looking West. Completed 1180. 293/ Gloucester (Gloucs.), abbey church (now cathedral). Nave, North side, begun 1089; vaulting 1240. 294/ Durham, cathedral. North transept. The church begun 1093; 1096 cross-ribbed vaults appear in the S.aisle of the choir (the first in history); after 1204 the entire building was vaulted. (291-294 Courtesy to Atlantis-Verlag, Zürich, publisher of "Englische Kathedralen", by M. Hürlimann.) 295/ opposite page: enamel from Limoges, ca. 1200. [cf. map 21]





296-298/ Details from the east window of Politiers cathedral (cf. no. 445), Xlith cent. 296/ Stephaton, offering the sponge. 297/ The crucifixion of St. Peter; underneath the donors, holding a model of the window itself. 298/ The Crucifixion; above, ower half of the Ascension.

the conqueror of the Magyars, as an outpost against the Wends and the Slavs. Gernrode, Hildesheim, Halberstadt and Quedlinburg have still preserved their monuments from this robust period.

Reichenau lay on the way to Italy on the spiritual axis of the Ottonian epoch. And when at the very end of the Xth century Otto III (son of a Byzantine princess) met at Rome the artist-bishop Bernward of Hildesheim and the learned and much travelled Gerbert of Aurillac (soon to become 259 Sylvester II), then can we truly say that the 'iron century' has ended.

The mention of Otto's Greek mother, Theophano, reminds us that the whole of the West at this time lay under the spell of the mid-Byzantine renaissance which had reached its zenith at Constantinople before 900 and which put in the shade whatever the younger and more expressive West could itself offer at that moment. Thus it is impossible to think of the future 'Romanesque' drawings and icono- 566 graphy apart from the classicized mid-Byzantine clichés.

Shortly after 900 Cluny was founded, the abbey which was to burn like a bright spiritual light through so many ages. It first established itself under a succession of holy and long-lived abbots, Odo, Mayolus, Odilo, and Hugo, and became the mother-house of an immense family which by 1100 numbered 300 more than fourteen hundred abbeys and priories (map 22). It can indeed be said that for a long time the Cluniacs were synonymous with the élite of Christendom. Western Christendom from the XIth to the beginning of the XIIth century owes to Cluny the reform of the Roman Curia, the organization of the pilgrimage to Compostella, the Franco-Spanish collaboration for the reconquest of Spain, a way of life at once aristocratic and liturgical, and an incalculable number of 'Romanesque' works of art.

By the XIth century (map 20) the sombre phase has definitely ended. The West is still far from being spiritually independent, for it has scarcely come of age. In the south lay the fascinating Arab world with its centre at Cordova; in the east lay mid-Byzantine Christendom, irradiating as far as South Germany and Venice. These two worlds were still superior to the West although they had already passed 224 their zenith. But for the first time the West enjoyed the feeling of security. The Vikings, even those 574 of Iceland, the land of the Edda and the Sagas, had been baptized, and this time without compulsion. 579 Between the West and the East (where the Russians had just been won for the Greek Church) there 580 came into being a belt of Latin Christian peoples and border states: the western Slavs, Poland, and the Hungary of St. Stephen. The Cross appeared again in Coimbra and Toledo, and the Spanish Crusade was followed about 1100 by the first general Crusade against the occupiers of the Holy Places. The Arabic world was on the decline and Western Christendom, stretching from Lisbon to Trondhjem and from Ireland to the Vistula, realizes its own strength and begins its irresistible expansion.

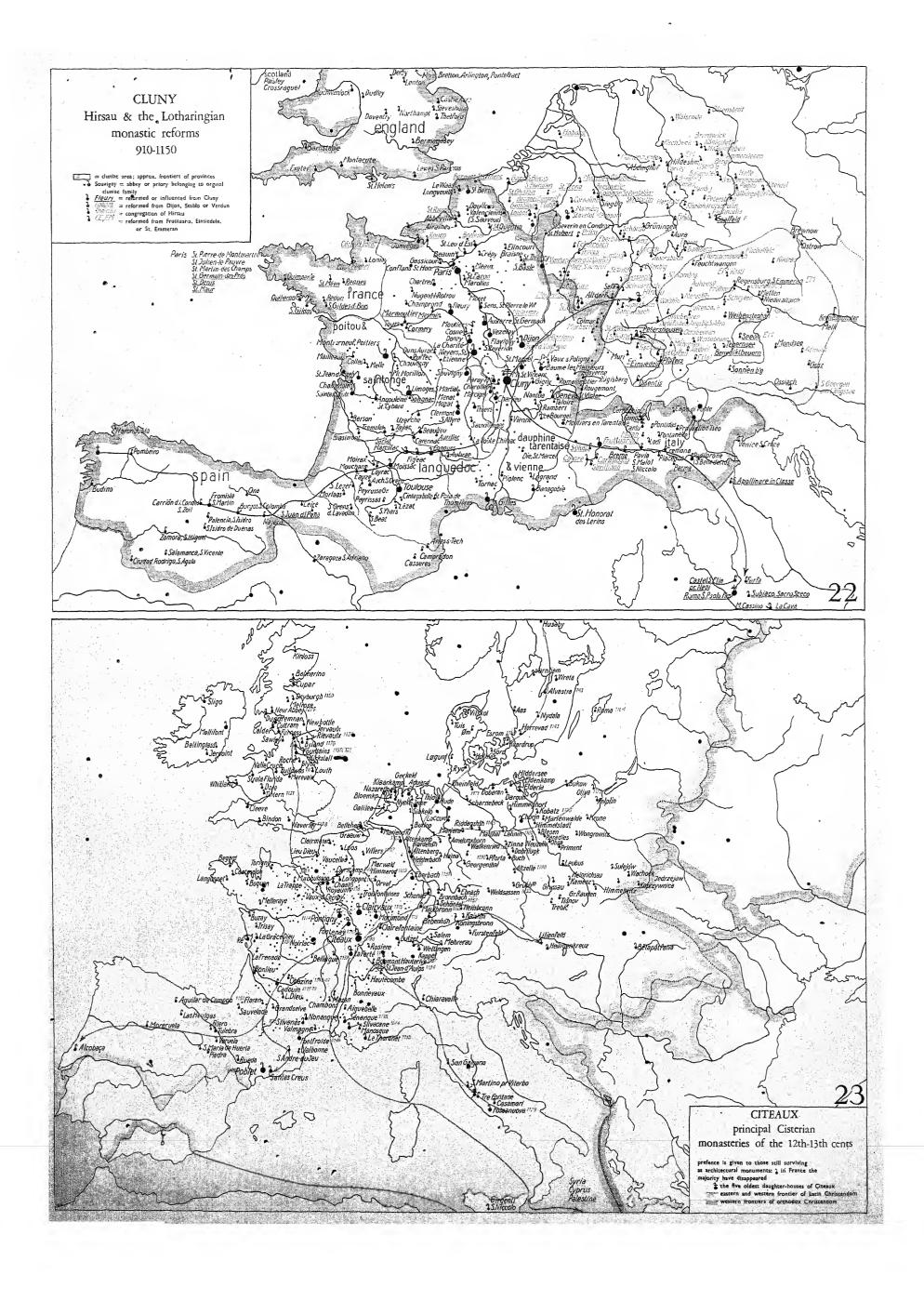
Within this Christendom there developed an agelong struggle between two powers: the spiritual power represented by Cluny and the Holy See, and the Imperial. The investiture of bishops and abbots by the laity was but the pretext, the real point at issue was the freedom of the Church. Thanks to the integration of the Cluniac milieu and to the inflexibility of Gregory VII, the Church was the winner. Henceforth Church and Empire lived in one society, but each in its own domain; and the new basilica of St. Hugo at Cluny, which was dedicated by the Pope in 1095 and was to become the greatest church 300 in Christendom, easily outshone the enormous cathedral of the Emperor at Spires.

The XIth century is with justice called 'the century of experiments', for what in the XIIth century received its decisive form was now tested and prepared. The schools of Tours, Chartres and Paris are now spoken of – at Paris the controversy over general concepts (universalia) began, and with it 'early scholasticism'. In architecture there appear those remarkable monuments which the experts call 'early Romanesque'. In Catalonia we have the first barrel-vaulted churches such as Ripoll and Cardona; in Burgundy we have the group of churches around Tournus and the rotunda of St. Bénigne at Dijon. After 1050 Abbot Desiderius built the church of Monte Cassino and there arose also the second and third churches of Cluny, models of countless others. Along the roads to Compostella sprang up the great pilgrims' churches with their ambulatories and groups of chapels round the choir, an already existent feature (probably since 919 at Tours) but now for the first time fully developed in Conques, in St. Sernin at Toulouse, in St. Étienne at Nevers, in Fleury (the repository of St. Benedict's relics), 311 and in Compostella itself. In Normandy an impressive spate of building produced large churches with 306 tribunes, unvaulted and parsely decorated, and after the conquest of England in 1066 the same type was built on the other side of the Channel by the initiative of the French ruling caste, and thus 327 'Saxon' was replaced by 'Norman'. In Durham, indeed, there appeared in 1095 the first rib-vaulting. 305

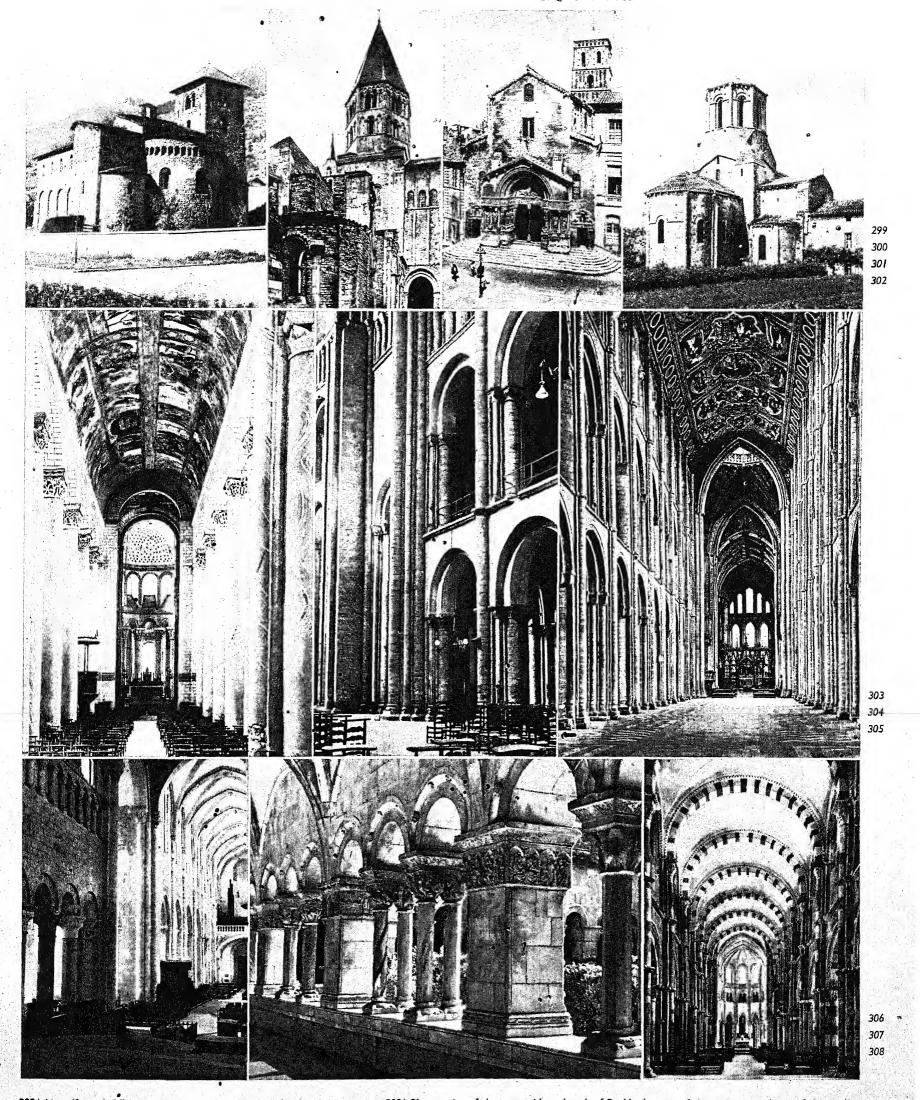
In the south of France was produced one of the most beautiful manuscripts in the world, the Apocalypse of St.-Sever, an early Romanesque copy of an old christian cycle with Mozarabic gloss. In the same region we find around 1100 the sudden, semi-miraculous rebirth of monumental sculpture in such examples as the portals of Moissac, Beaulieu, Toulouse, and Souillac, and later at Autun, Vézelay 317 and other places in Burgundy. The portal itself, with its tympanum and concentric vaulting, is one of the great innovations of the period. And under the Salic Emperors there arose the great basilicas 324 of Hersfeld and Limburg-on-Hardt, and the colossal imperial cathedral at Spires which was vaulted 342 in 1081. These churches were more archaic and simpler than the French, though in their own way no less impressive. Everywhere the master builders tried out their solutions to the central problem: how to cover a wide nave other than with a wooden roof, which was too easily combustible. The future architectural schools were already beginning to appear. The progress in sixty years can be estimated by comparing such a church as St.-Martin-du-Canigou and Vignory with an edifice like Sainte-Foy at Conques.

About 1065 in Normandy, perhaps on Mont-Saint-Michel, the Song of Roland was created — a sign that the epic and heroic period is past. Now, after the period of heroic exertion, the two fruits of a securely established culture, philosophy and the lyric, can come into their own. But a dark shadow lies over the XIIth century, the breakaway of the Greek Church from the Holy See: an agelong estrangement has turned into schism.



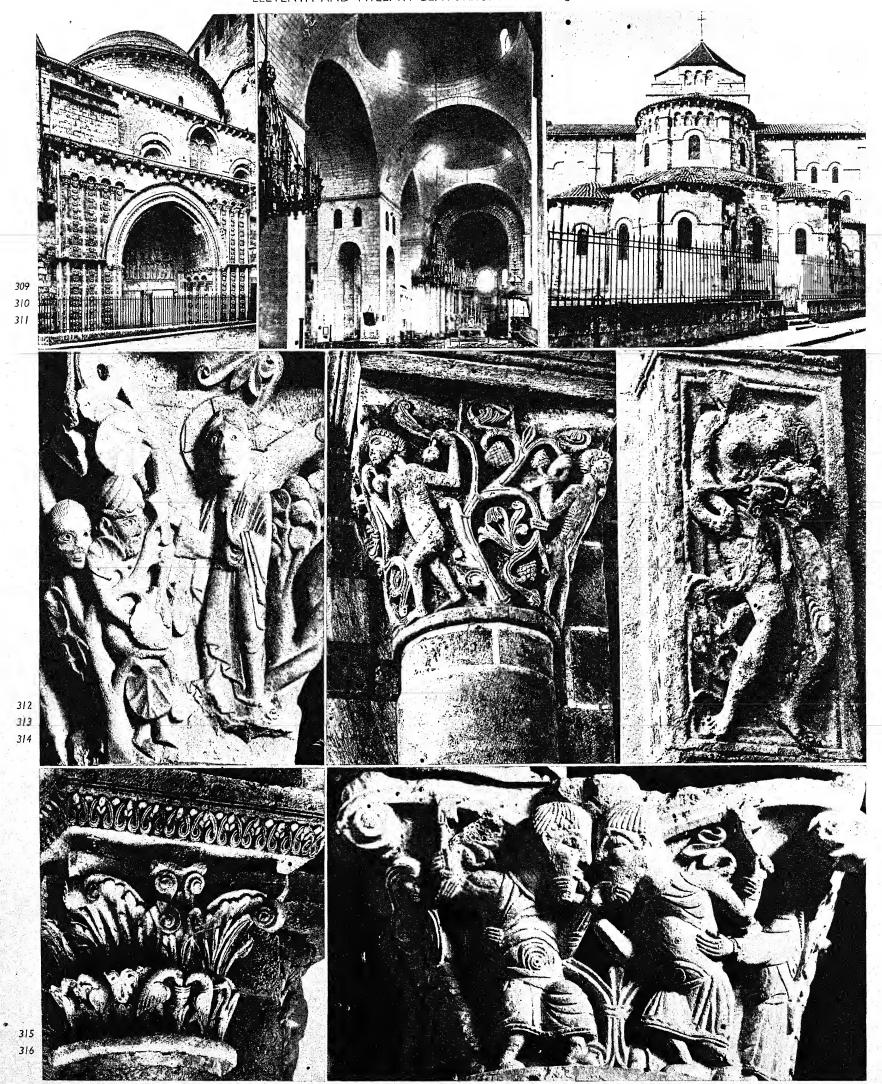


ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES: ROMANESQUE FRANCE

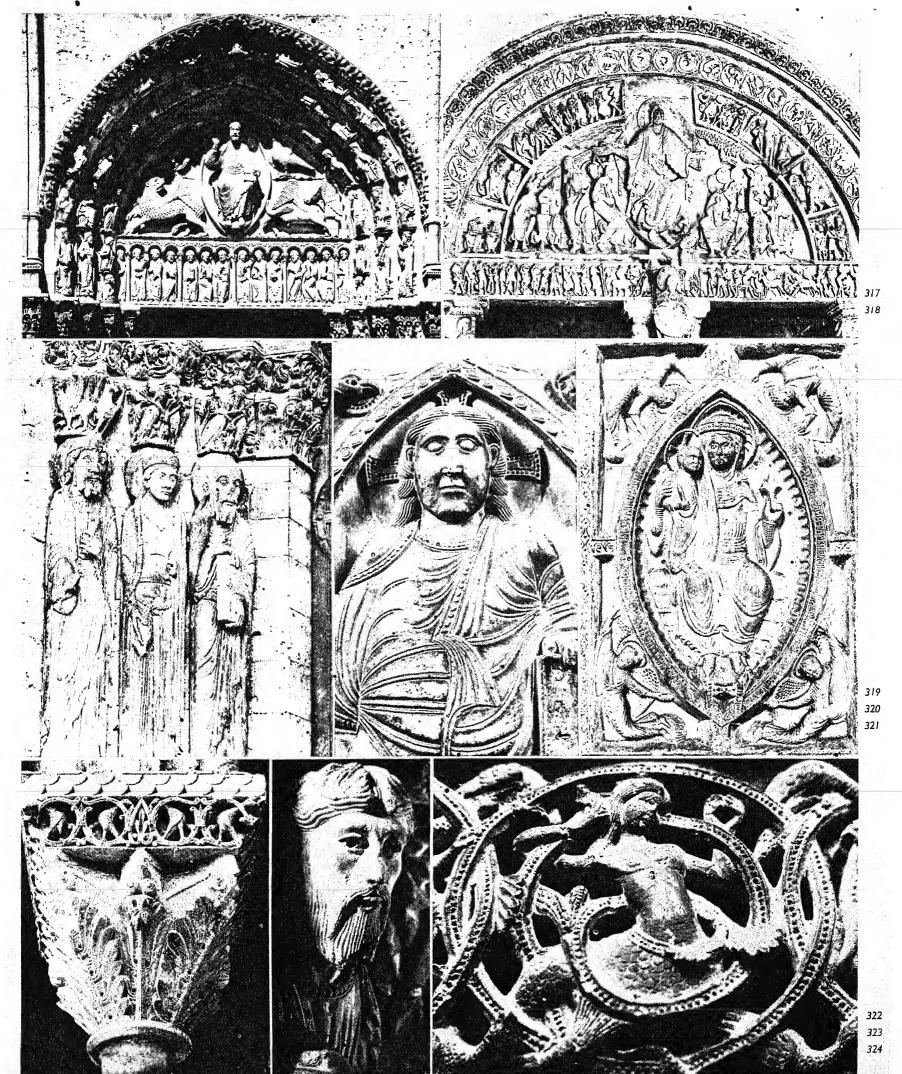


299/ Aime (Savoie), XIth cent. mountain church: example of early romanesque. 300/ Cluny, ruins of the great abbey church of St. Hugh: part of the transept and one of the smaller towers. The church was destroyed after the French Revolution by the local vandals, 301/ Arles, St.-Trophime; west front, ca. 1200. 302/ Parthenay-le-Vieux (near Poitiers), 'Hallenkirche' from Poitiers district, after 1100. 303/ St.-Savin-sur-Gartempe, 'Hallenkirche' from Poitiers district, with the celebrated paintings on the barrel-vault. Early XIIth cent. 304/ Tournai, cathedral, two bays in the transept. XIIth cent. 305/ Ely, cathedral, nave. An example of a 'Norman' church with single nave. After 1066. 306/ St.-Benoît-sur-Loire, abbey church. View from the choir. 307/ Elne (Pyr. Or.), cloisters. 308/ Vézelay, abbey church. Early XIIth cent. (the choir is early Gothic, cf. no. 393).

[cf. maps 20 and 21]



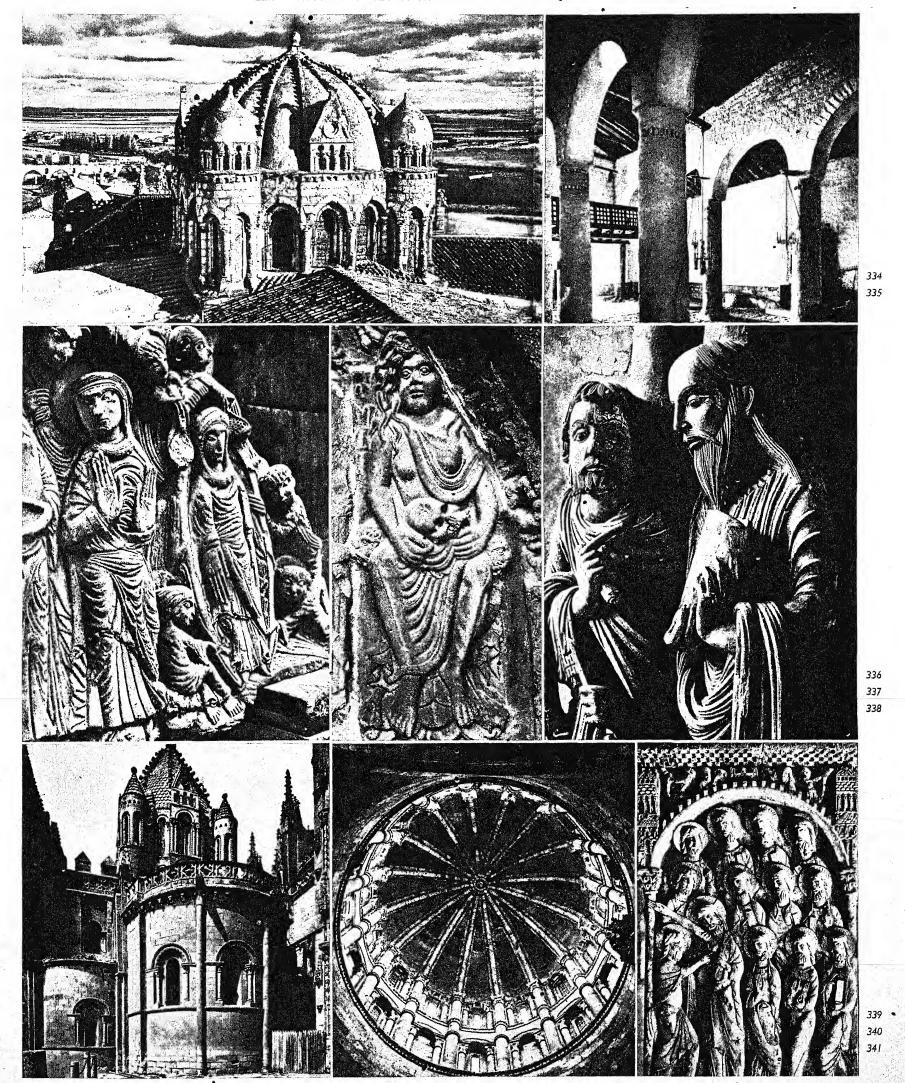
309/ Cahors, cathedral, XIth cent. West front (tympanum with Ascension, XIIth cent.) Example of Aquitaine church with cupolas. 310/ Périgueux, cathedral of St. Front. Imitation of St. Mark's, Venice. XIIth cent. 311/ Nevers, St.-Etienne. Cluniac abbey church with ambulatory and side chapels. 312/ Cluny, capital from choir. Adam and Eve hiding themselves from God. Before 1100. 313/ St.-Benoît-sur-Loire. XIth cent. capital. 314/ Charlieu, detail from XIIth cent. portico. Lasciviousness: a woman bitten bij snakes and toads. 315/ St.-Benoît-sur-Loire, XIth cent. capital. 316/ Poitiers, Museum. Capital from St.-Hilaire-le-Grand: Discord. Examples of the rebirth of sculpture between 1050 and 1120. [cf. maps 20 and 21]



317/ Chartres, Catifedral. Tympanum and surrounds from the Portail Royal. Ca. 1140-1145. 318/ Vézelay, Tympanum of west front: the Mission of the Apostles. 1130. 319/ St-Loup-de-Naud. The forefathers of Christ. West portal, after 1150. 320/ Toulouse, St-Sernin. Bas-relief in ambulatory: Christ in His Glory. Before 1096. 321/ St-Junien. Relief from the tomb of St-Junien. The Mother of God enthroned in Glory. Xllth cent. 322/ Moissac Abbey. Capital in cloisters. Ca. 1100. 323/ Autun, Museum. Head from the Tomb of Lazarus (the rest has disappeared). Xllth cent. 324/ Detail from a double capital from the Daurade: a mermaid. This is one of the fantastic Cluniac motifs that St. Bernard makes fun of in his Apology. Toulouse, Musée des Augustins. Xllth cent.



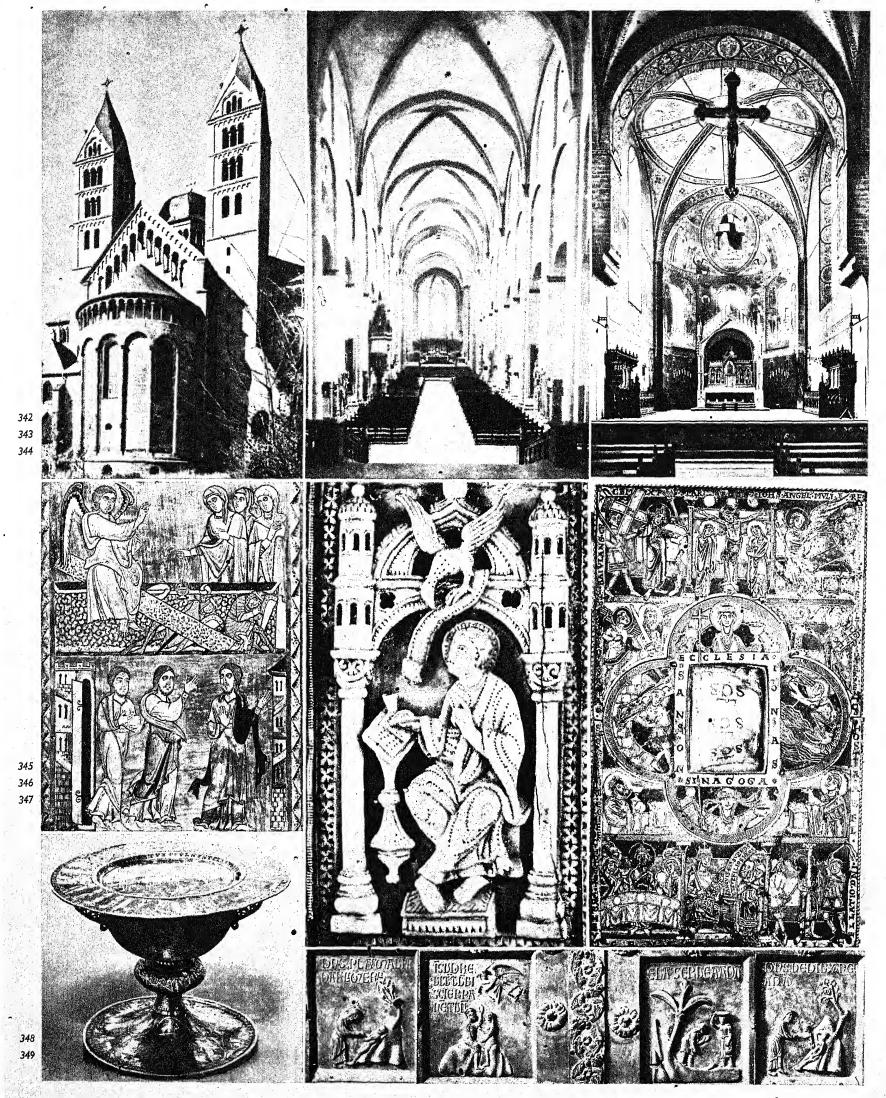
325/ Compostela, detail from the Pórtico de la Gloria. 326/ Detail from XIIth cent. choir-screen, du Puy Cathedral. 327/ Compostela, transept. The cathedral belonged to the same foundation as Conques and St.-Sernin-de-Toulouse. 328/ The Sacrifice of Abraham. From a York psalter. Glasgow, Hunterian Museum. XIIth cent. 329/ Ordeal by water and fire. Miniature from a rituale of Lambach (Austria). 330/ The Presentation in the Temple. From an evangelistarium of Cîteaux. Laon, Bibl. Municipale. 331/ Christ in His Majesty. Enamel from Limoges. Paris, Musée de Cluny. 332/ St-Savin-sur-Gartempe. Frescoes in the narthex: the Opening of the Pit of Destruction, and the Woman and the Dragon. From the Apocalypse: XIth cent. 333/ Berzé-la-Ville. Detail from apsidal fresco by Cluniac artists. Somewhat before 1100.



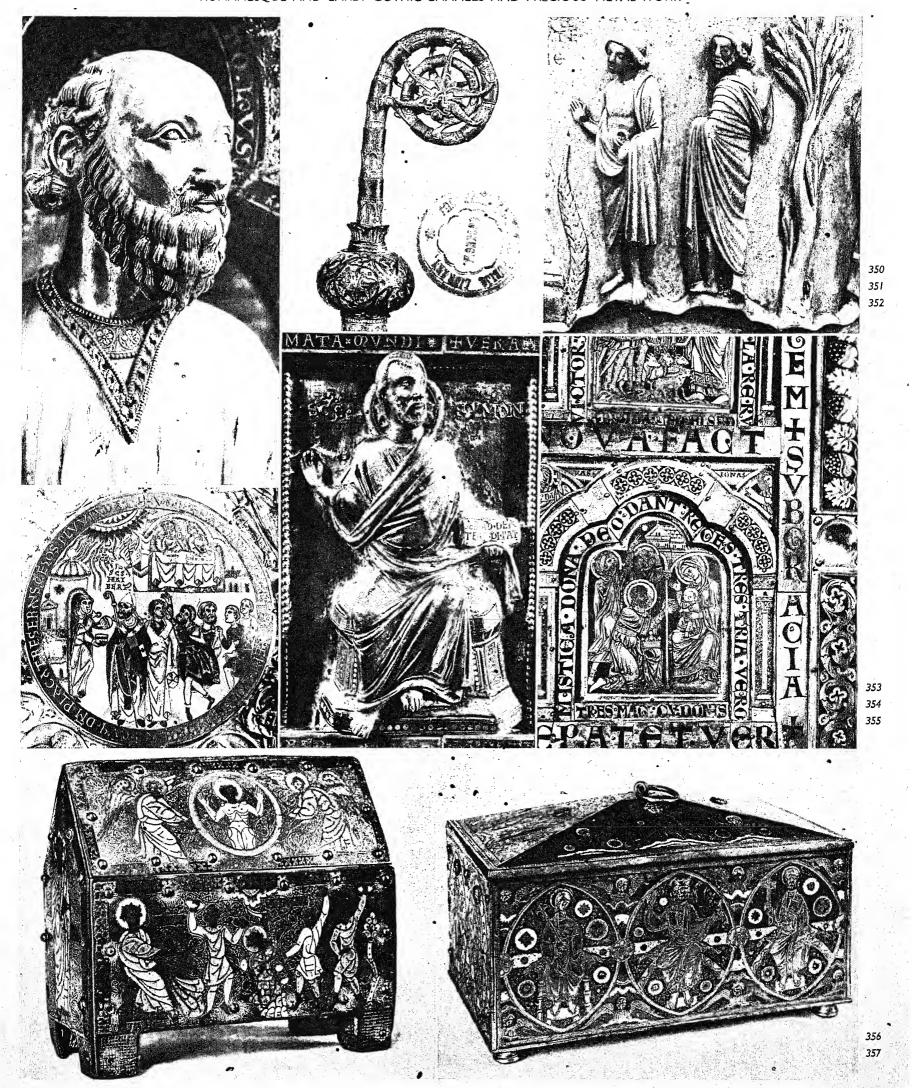
334/ Zamora, decorative cupola of the cathedral. 335/ Tahull, Sant Climent. Small XIth cent. church in the Pyrenees (the apsidal frescoes are now in the Museum of Barcelona, one of the treasure-houses of Romanesque painting). 336/ Fragment from tympanum of the church of Cabestany (Catalonia). R., the Assumption. XIIth cent. 337/ Adulteress with the skull of her lover. Detail from Last Judgement, Cathedral of St. James of Compostela. 338/ Oviedo, Cámara Santa. Sts. Peter and Paul. XIIth cent. 339/ Salamanca. Apse and cupola of the old cathedral. 340/ Canopy in the cupola of the old cathedral at Salamanca (cf. no. 339). 341/ Doubting Thomas. Bas-relief in the cloisters of the abbey of Santo Domingo at Silos.

Ca. 1100 (?). Though entirely dependent on Southern France, the vigour of Spanish Romanesque architecture and sculpture is always striking.

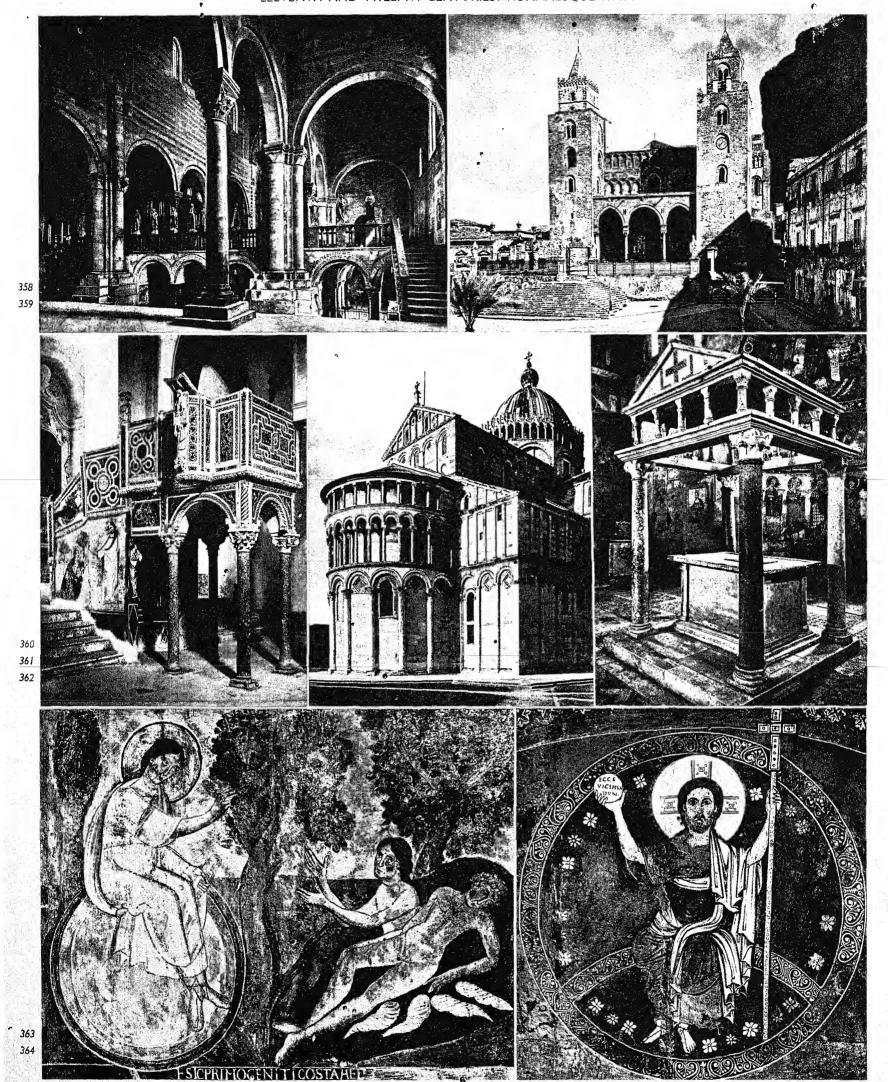
[cf. maps 20 and 21]



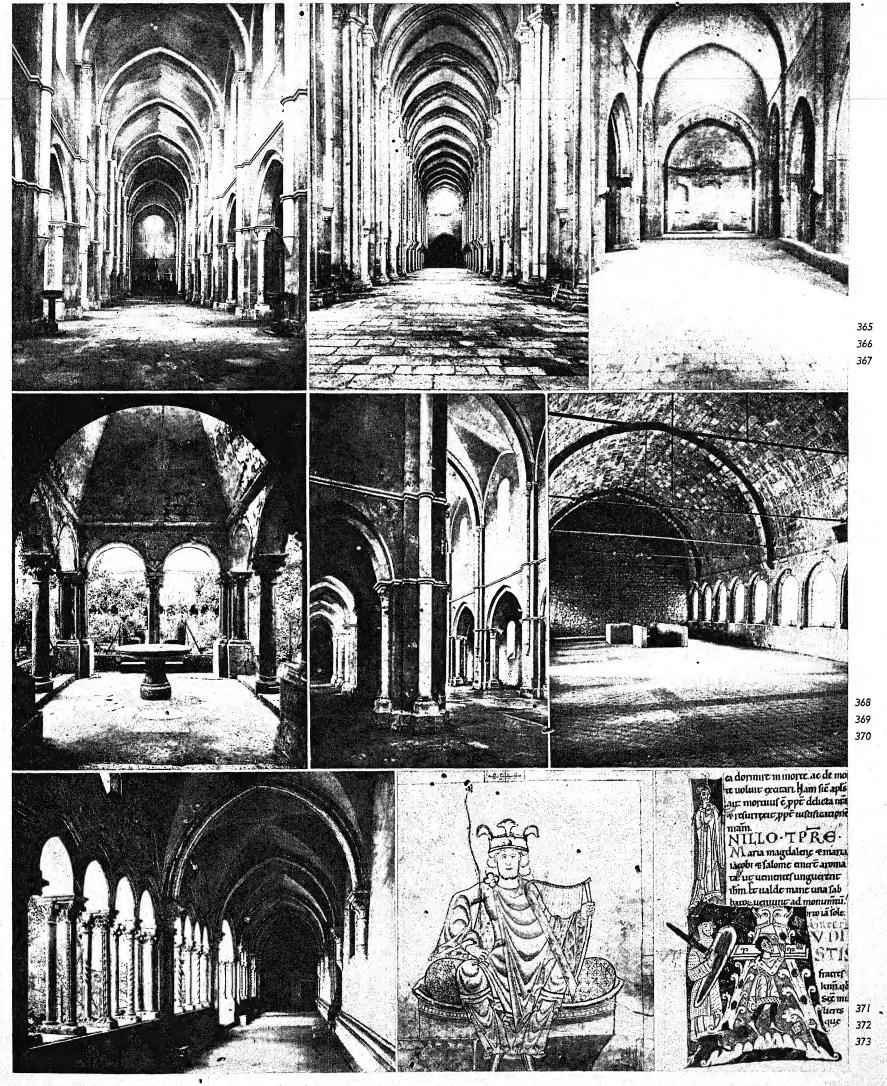
342/ The Cathedral of Spires, eastern elevation. Commenced 1030, rebuilt and completed 1100-1160. 343/ Mainz, Cathedral. 344/ Soest, Cathedral. Choir with mural of 1166. 345/ The Women at the Tomb and the Disciples at Emmaûs. Antiphonary of St. Peter, Salzburg. Ca. 1150. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek. 346/ St. Matthew. Ivory from bookbinding in the Archiepiscopal Museum, Utrecht. Early XIIth cent. 347/ Portable altar from Stavelot with allegorical scenes from the Old and New Testaments. XIth cent. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. 348/ Chalice of Berthold of Andechs, from Wilten. Example of niello-work. XIIth cent. 349/ Monreale, near Palermo. Detail from bronze door of abbey church: I. to r., the creation of Adam, Adam and Eve ordered to work 'by the sweat of their brow', Adam and Eve at work, the creation of Eve. [cf. maps 20 and 21]



350/ Head of an apostle from the shrine of St. Eleutherius. Tournai, Cathedral. 1248. 351/ Crozier, Limoges enamel, ca. 1200. Poitiers. 352/ Detail from font of Renier de Huy, 1118. St-Barthélemy, Liège. 353/ Enamel medallion from the shrine of St. Heribert with scenes from his life. 1170-1180. Deutz, church. 354/ St. Simon the Apostle (the book in his hand shows one of the articles of the Creed). Detail from the shrine of St. Heribert, cf. no. 353. 355/ The Adoration of the Magi. Enamel from retable of Klosterneuburg by Nicholas of Verdun. 1181. Klosterneuburg, Stiftskirche. 356/ Reliquary of St. Stephen; with his stoning and entry into Paradise. Limoges enamel. Limoges, Musée Guéret. Example of cloisonné-work. 357/ Reliquary, with God, Our Lady and St. Peter. Limoges, Musée Adrien Dubouché. Example of champlevé-work.

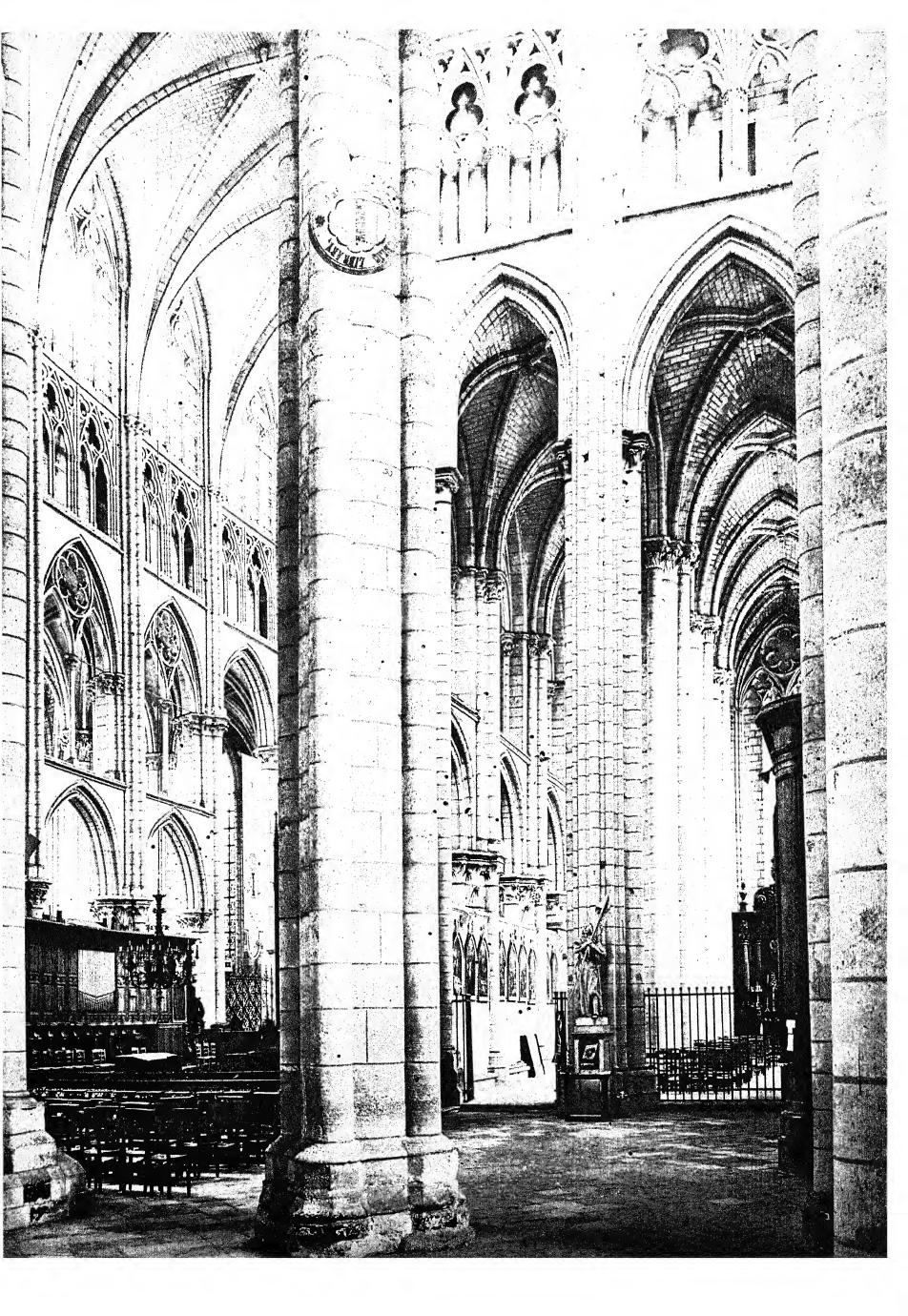


358/ San Zeno, Verona. Choir and entrance to colonnaded crypt. Example of a sober unvaulted Lombard basilica of the XIIth cent. 359/ Cefalù (Sicily). Front of the cathedral. One of the Norman-Arabic-Byzantine monuments of the island. XIIth cent. (for apsidal mosaics of no. 115). 360/ Ravello, S. Giovanni Evangelista. Ambo, early XIIIth cent. 361/ Pisa Cathedral, eastern elevation. The masterpiece of a regional architectural school of Sardinia and part of Tuscany. 362/ Castel Sant'Elia. Altar and ciborium (canopy) in the XIth cent. abbey church. 363/ The Creation of Eve. Fresco in S. Pietro, Ferentillo (near Spoleto). XIth cent. 364/ The Last Judgement. Detail of an icon from a Roman convent. A little after 1000. The Vatican Pinakothek.



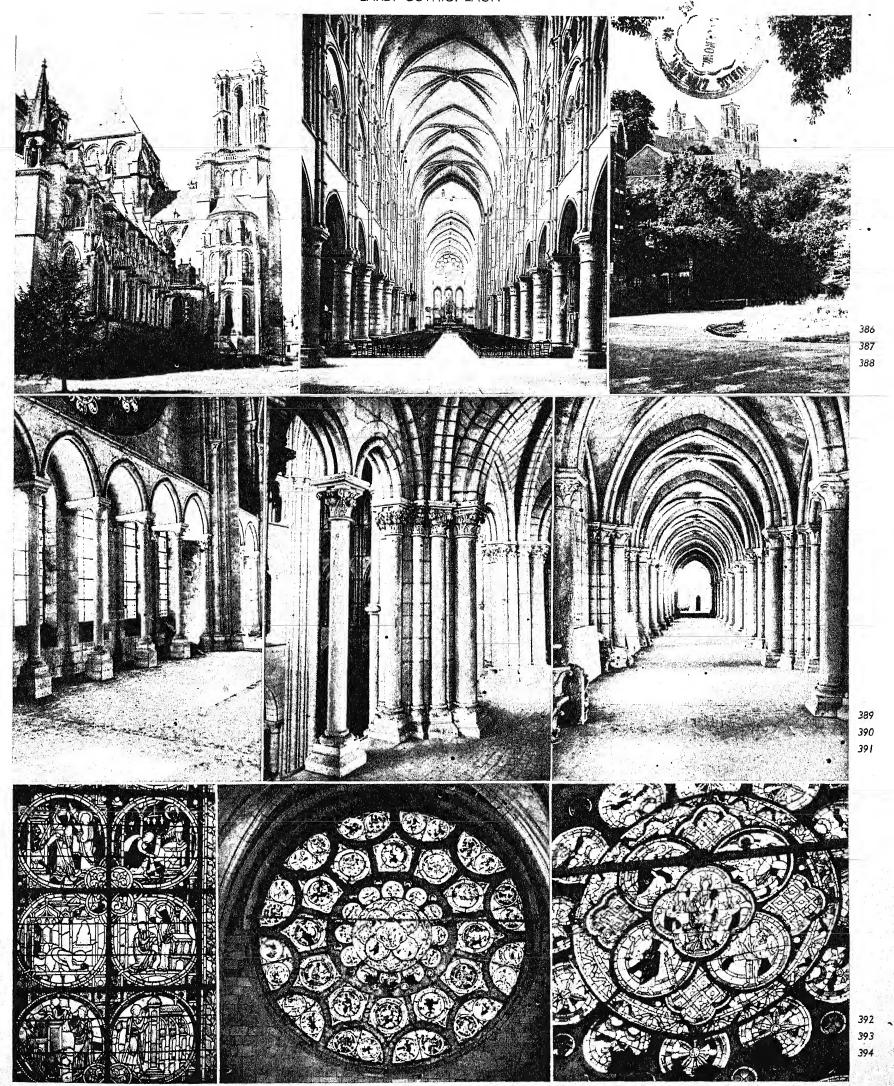
In sharp contrast to the rich Cluniac abbey churches, the buildings of the Cistercians were severe and undecorated and without any towers. In the Cistercian churches there was no distraction from the imposing architectural effects — the style is Burgundian, a transitional style between Romanesque and Gothic. 365/ Fossanuova (between Rome and Naples). 366/ Alcobaça (Portugal). 367/ Le Thoronet (Var, Provence). 368/ Fossanuova, edicula for the fountain, in front of the refectory. 369/ Fossanuova. 370/ Le Thoronet, dormitory (the monks slept in their habits on sacks of straw). 371/ Fossanuova, cloisters (the decoration is XIIIth cent.). 372-373/ Two MSS. from Citeaux: 372/ Bible of Stephen Harding, Dijon, Bibl. de la Ville; King David. 373/ Paschal Homily, with Mary Magdalene, and Samson carrying the gates of Gaza. Strasbourg. Overleaf: 374/ Senlis, cathedral and tower, XIIth cent.; rebuilt XVth cent.; transept, 2nd quarter XVIth cent. till 1560.



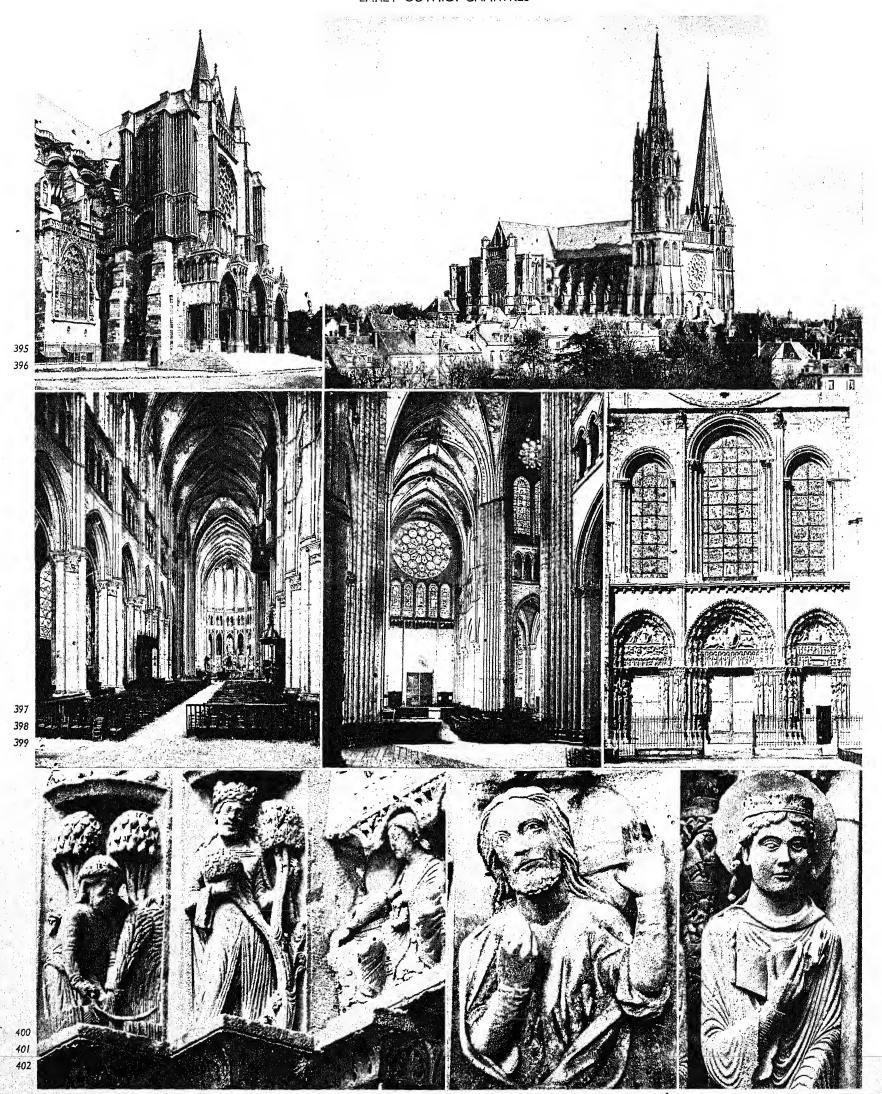




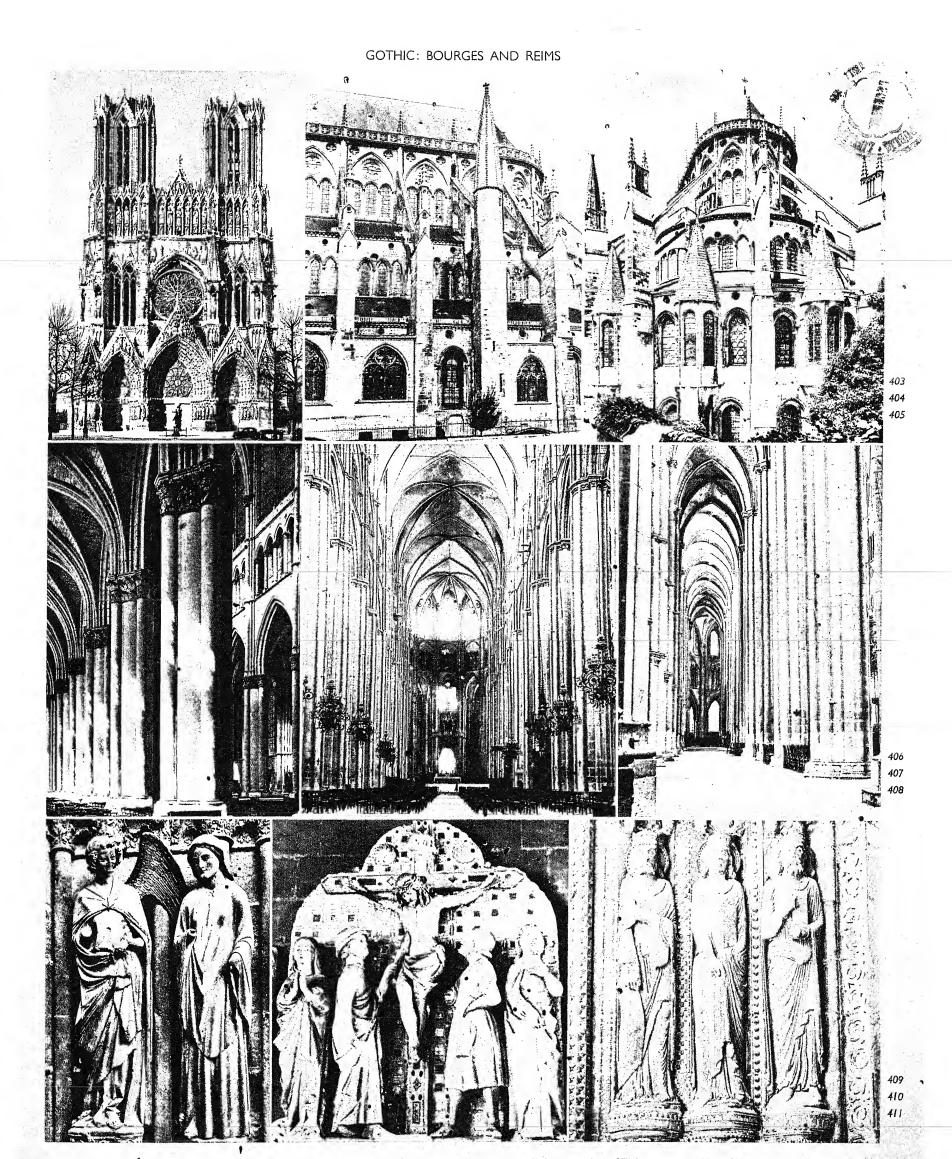
376/ Saint-Denis. Façade by Suger, ca. 1140 (the tower on the left was destroyed 1847). 377/ Sens, Cathedral. Façade XIIth cent., rebuilt XIVth cent., tower added XVIth cent. 378/ Paris, Notre-Dame, west front. Before 1200, 379/ Laon, Cathedral, west front, late XIIth cent. 380/ Langres, Cathedral. Begun ca. 1170 on the model of the 3rd church of Cluny. 381/ Paris, Notre-Dame. Begun 1163. (Clerestory rebuilt; six-fold vaulting.) 382/ Sens, Cathedral, begun shortly after 1130. (Apart from the six-fold vaulting this is the first completely Gothic' nave.) 383/ Vézelay, abbey church. Ambulatory, late XIIth cent. 384/ Paris, Notre-Dame, west front. Tympanum of left portal: Our Lady laid to rest and crowned in Heaven. 385/ Sens, Cathedral. Pillars of the nave, near the crossing. Between 1130 and 1163. Preceding page: 375/ Meaux, cathedral of St-Etienne. Beginning of the choir, XIIth cent.



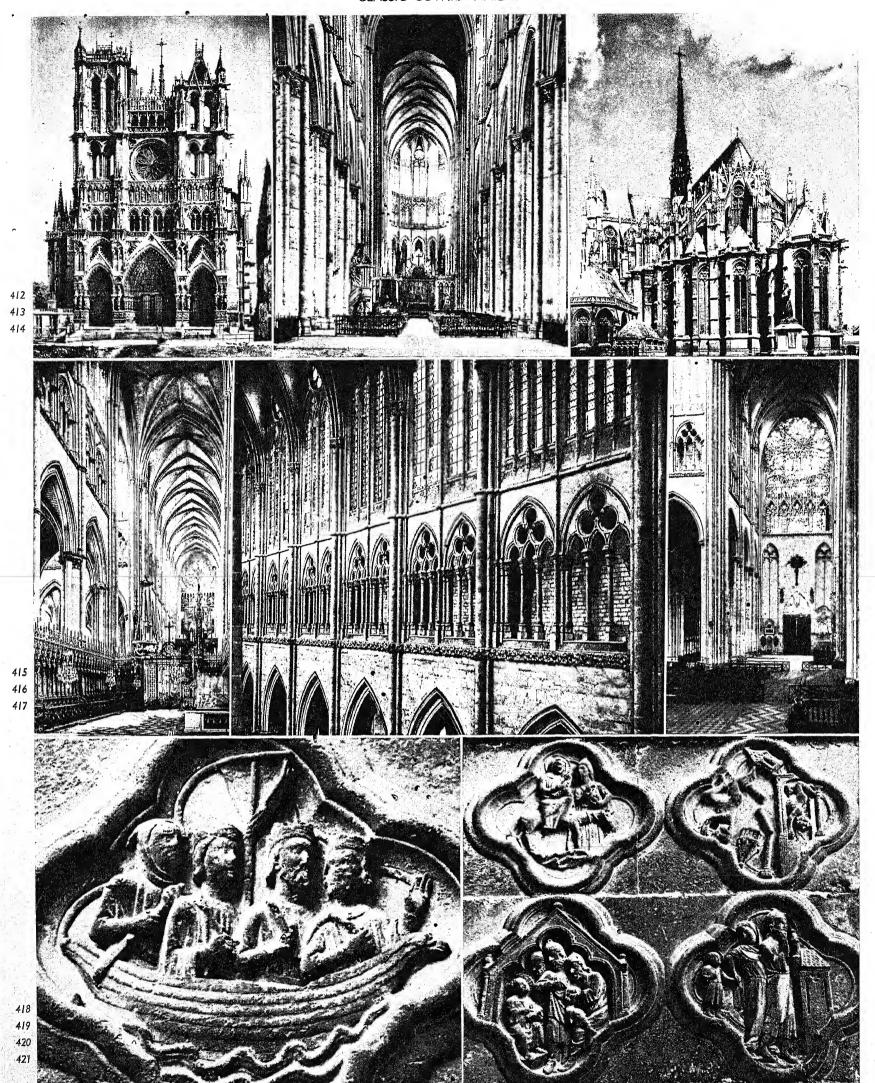
Despite its conservative architectural features (e.g. the six-fold vaulting), the Cathedral of Laon is the masterpiece of the late XIIth cent. It is imitated in Cologne, Limburg, Naumburg, Magdeburg and Bamberg. It is also imitated in certain details in France, e.g. in Chartres. 386/ Choir, enlarged XIIIth cent. 387/ Nave. 388/ Towers. 389/ Gallery under rose window in northern transept. 390-391/ Interior of the tribune. 392/ Window in the choir: the Legend of Theophilus (who sold his soul to the devil and was saved by Our Lady). 393-394/ Eastern rose window, with Our Lady crowned in Glory.



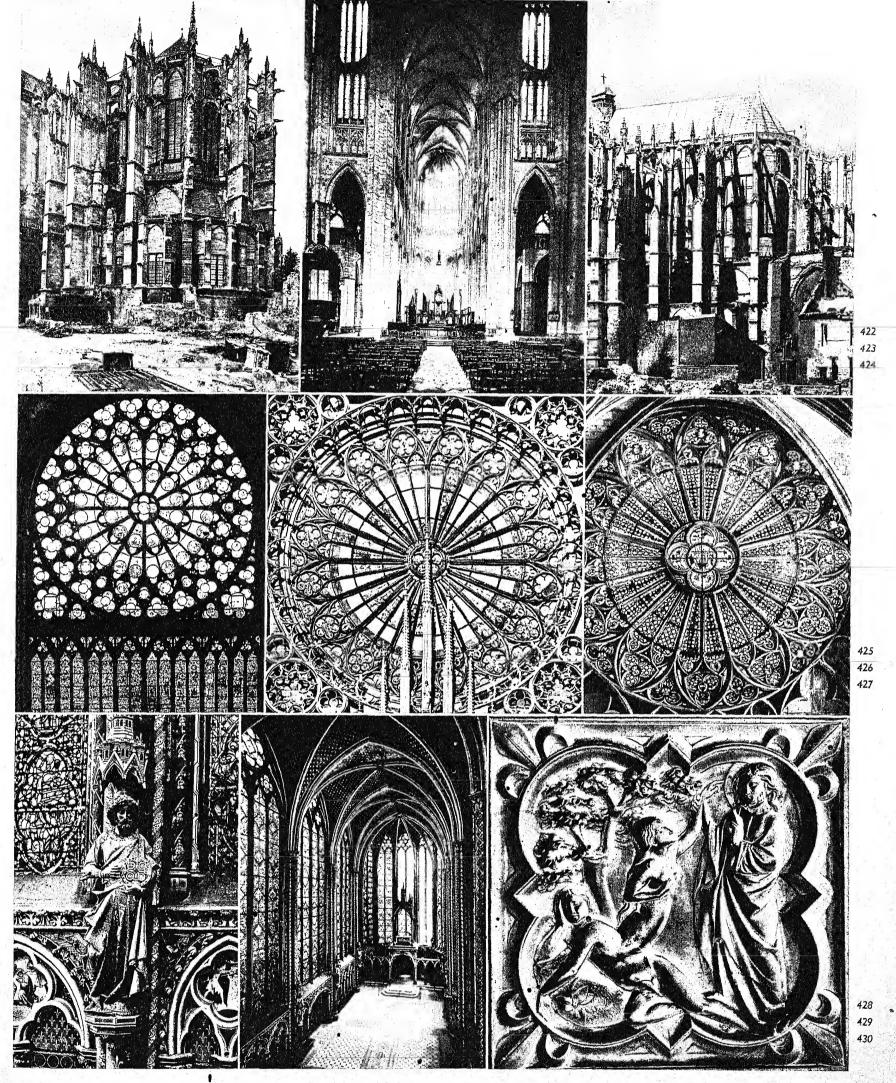
The Cathedral of Chartres is France's principal shrine to the Mother of God (relics of her skirt and veil are venerated there). After the fire of 1194 it was completely rebuilt between 1195-1220, with 170 windows and thousands of statues. It is the first classical Gothic church. 395/ South transept; the chapel I. is XVth cent. 396/ Northern elevation. The tower I. is from after 1500; the other is XIIth cent. 397/ Nave; the decoration of the choir is XVIIIth cent. 398/ Crossing and north transept. 399/ Lower portion of west front with Portail Royal (ca. 1144); the three windows are pre-1194. 400/ Detail from Portail Royal: the months of July and April. 401/ The creating Word (Logos). From the northern portico. 402/ One of Christ's forefathers, probably Solomon; from the Portail Royal.



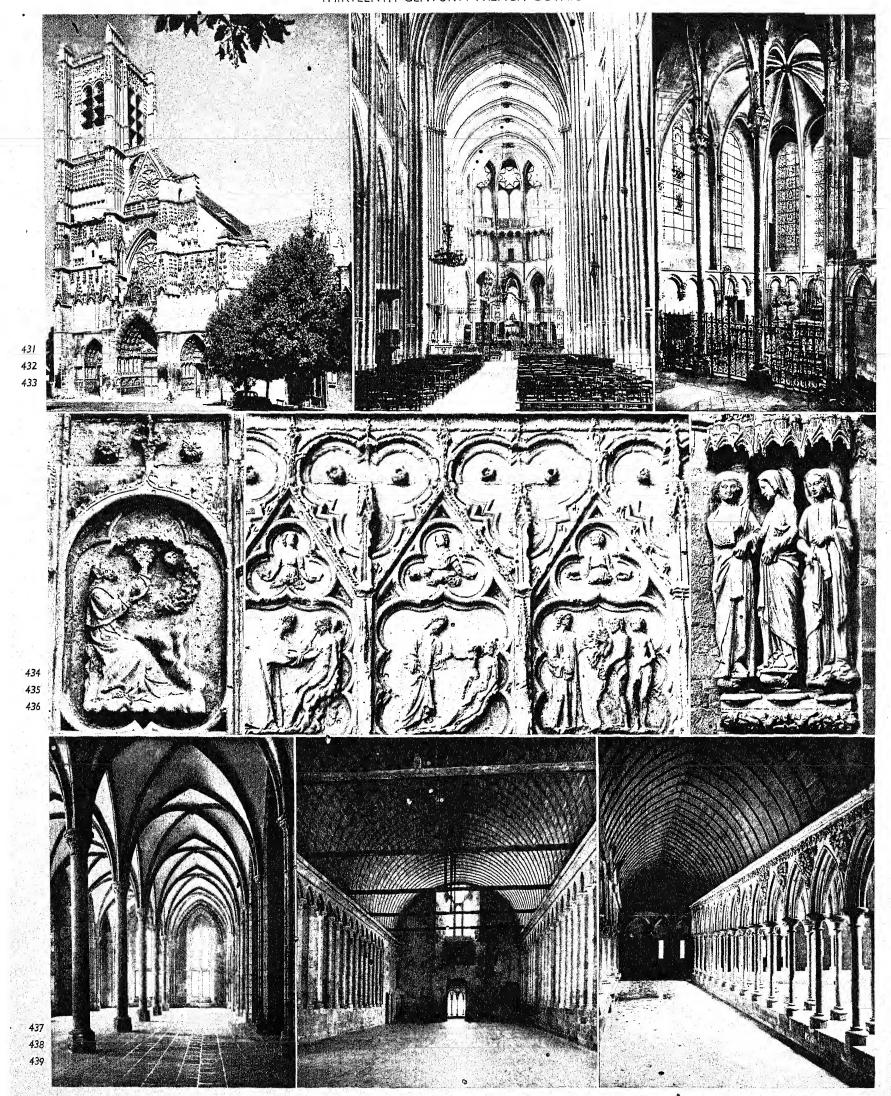
403/ Reims, Cathedral, begun 1212. 404-405/ Bourges, Cathedral. Choir 1190-1220: masterbuilder Henry de Sully, brother of Eudes, masterbuilder of Notre-Dame. Note the double ambulatory. 406/ Reims, Cathedral, nave. 407/ Bourges, interior. 408/ Bourges, interior of side aisle. 409/ Reims, west front: the Annunciation. 410/ Bourges, Crucifixion. Fragment of jubé, XIIth cent. 411/ Bourges, Christ's forefathers. Side portico, XIIth cent. The magnificent Cathedral of Bourges, with its five naves of varying height, is the model for the Cathedrals of Le Mans, Coutances (no. 442) and Toledo (no. 467). Reims Cathedral, renowned principally for its sculpture, is the masterplece of the architectural school of Champagne. [cf. map 24]



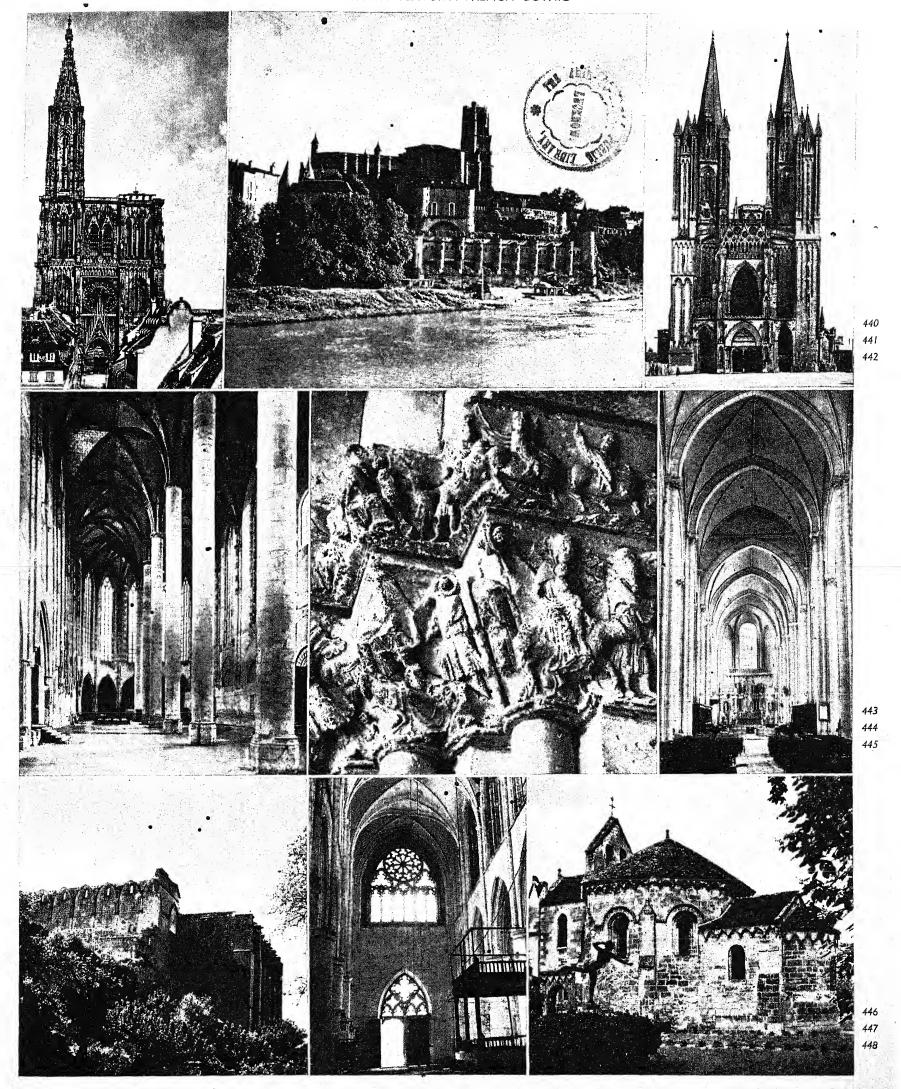
Amiens, the Parthenon of classical Gothic, is the matrix for numerous other Cathedrals, including Beauvais, Cologne, Troyes, Tournal (choir), León (Spain), Uppsala (Sweden) and Utrecht. 412/ West front. Lower portion 1220-1236, towers XIVth-XVith cent., rose window after 1500. 413/ Nave, by Master Robert de Luzarches, 1220-1236. 414/ Choir, 1247-1270. 415/ Choir, from the east: choirstalls XVth cent., screen XVIIIth cent. 416/ Transept. 417/ Triforium and windows of the nave. 418-421/ Details from west portals. Left: the Voyage of the Magi. 419-420/ The Flight into Egypt and the fall of the idols of Heliopolis. Below: the Infant Jesus among the Doctors in the Temple and the return to Nazareth. [cf. map 24]



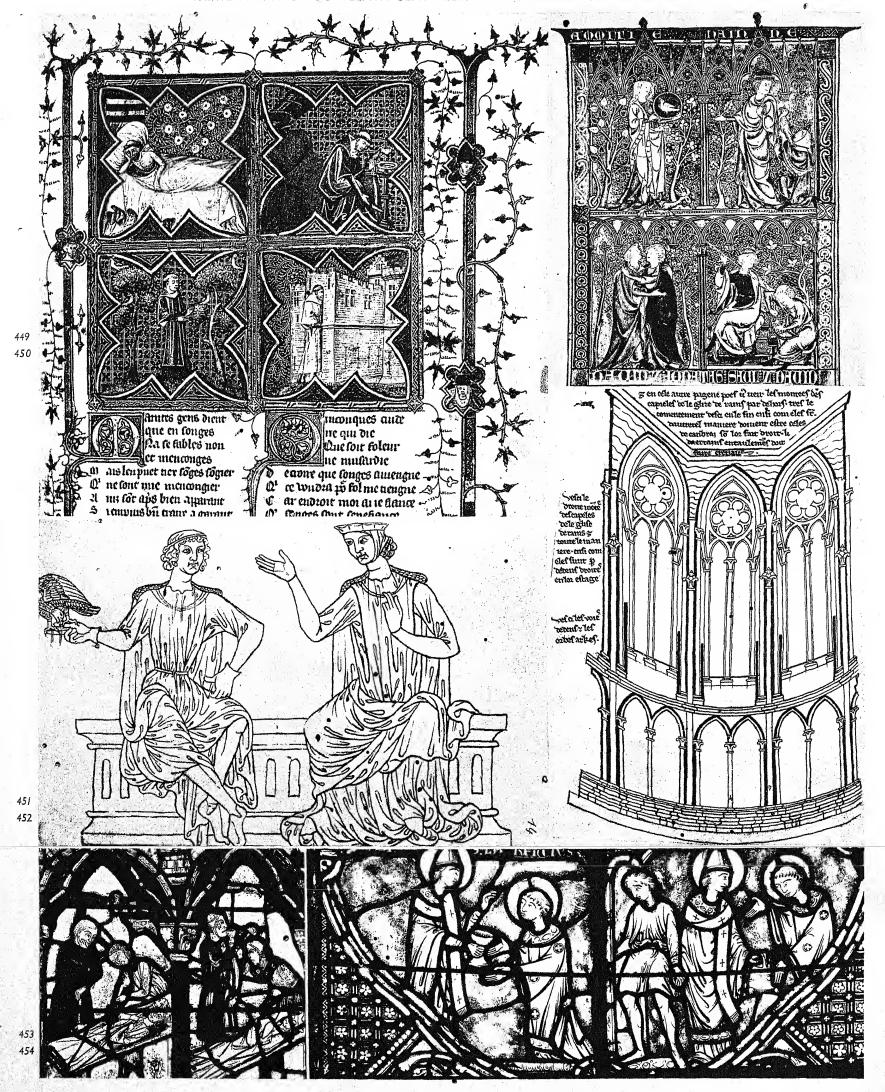
422-424/ The choir of Beauvais Cathedral, built 1247-1272, collapsed 1284, rebuilt 1338. Height of vault 48 metres. This is the technical acme of Gothic. Transept early XVIth cent. 425/ Paris, Notre-Dame. Rose window in transept 1257-1267. 426/ Strasbourg Cathedral. Rose window in west front, ca. 1290. 427/ Carcassonne, Cathedral of St-Nazaire. Rose window ca. 1280. 428-430/ Paris, Sainte-Chapelle. Built by St-Louis for a relic of the Crown of Thorns brought from Constantinople. 428/ One of the twelve apostles. 429/ The upper chapel with alter for reliquary, and the celebrated windows. 430/ The Creation of Eve, detail from door of the chapel.



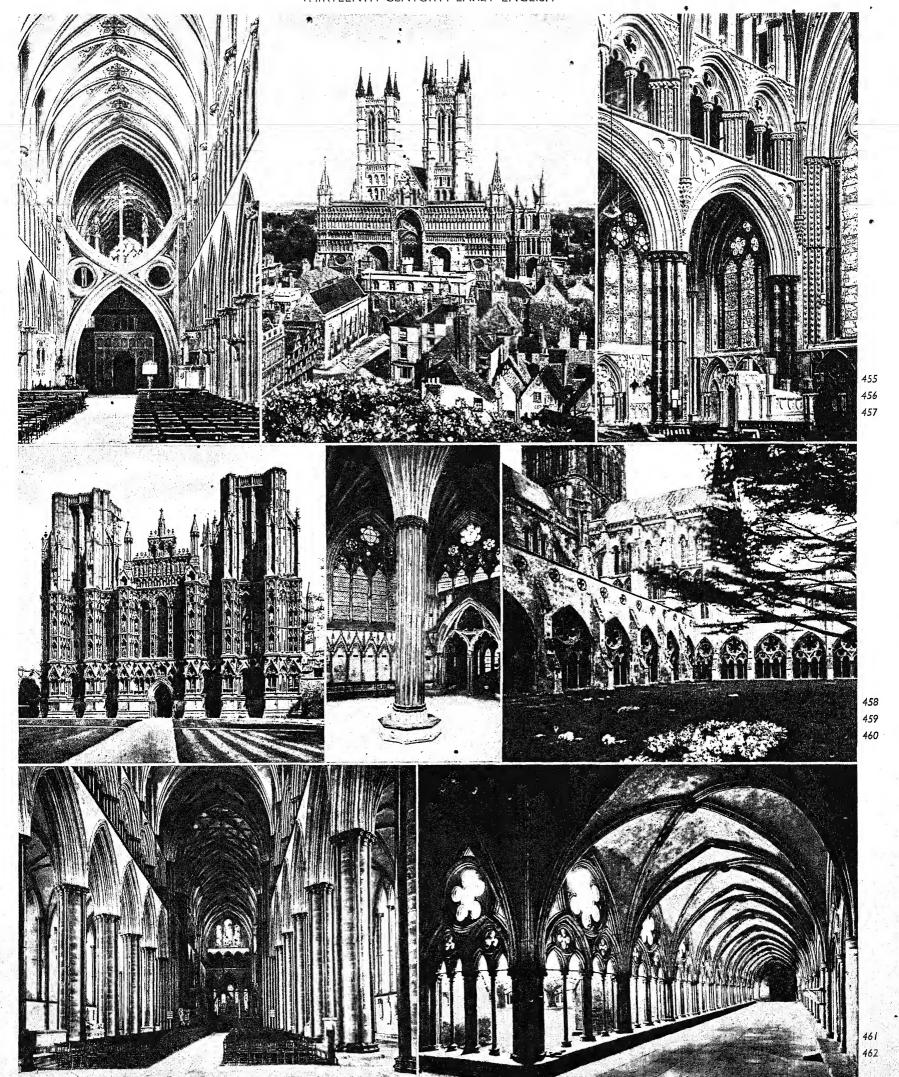
431-435/ Auxerre, Cathedral of St-Etienne; one of the lesser monuments in the area between Champagne and Burgundy. 431/ West front. Portals partly XIIIth; partly XIVth cent.; nave XIVth cent., tower 1539. 432/ Choir (1215-1234) and nave (XIVth cent.). 433/ Side chapel in ambulatory. 434-435/ Reliefs from left portal on west front: the creation of the stars; the creation of Adam and Eve; original sin. An example of the light and elegant style of the early XIVth cent. 436/ The Annunciation. From the portal of Villeneuve-l'Archevêque (Yonne). In the style of Reims, ca. 1270. 437-439/ Mont-Saint-Michel. The abbey on a rock in the sea, opposite Avranches. L., the reception hall; centre, the refectory; r., the cloisters. Example of an influential XIIIth cent. Benedicting abbey.



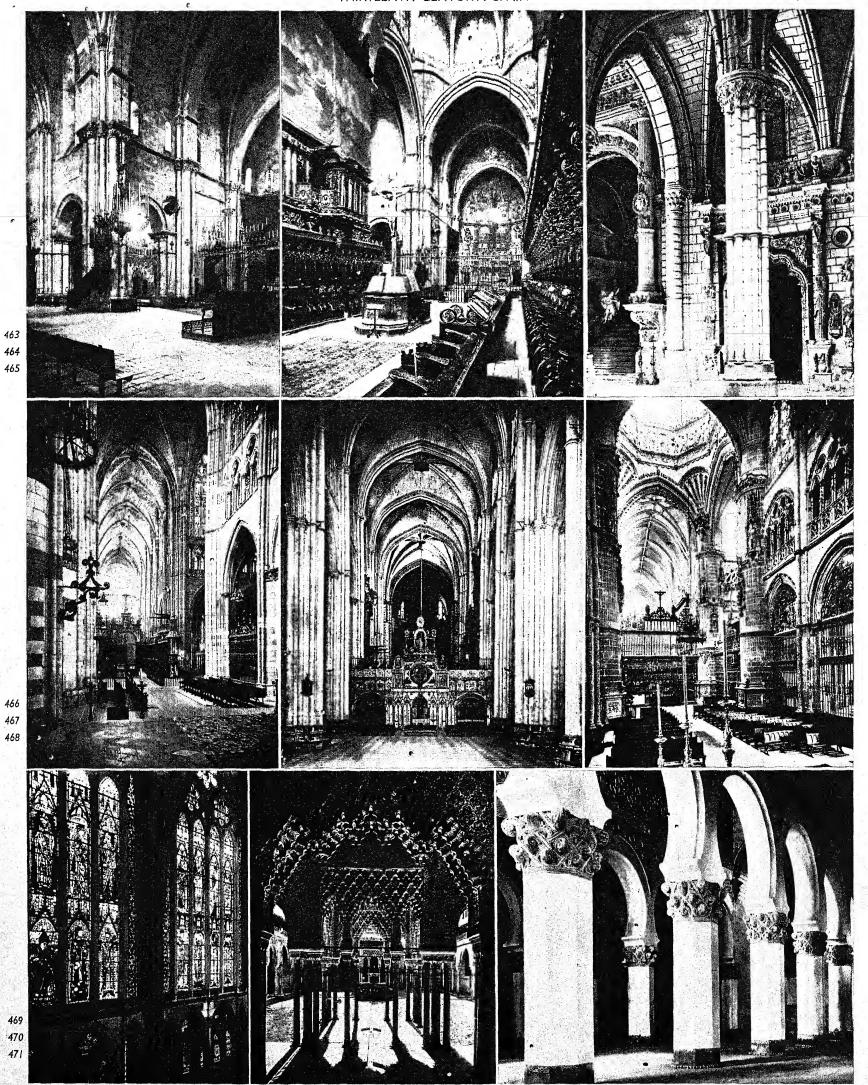
440/ Strasbourg, Cathedral. West front (late XIIIth-early XIVth cent.) and tower (XVth cent.). 441/ Albi, Cathedral. Example of fortified church with single nave. Built in red brick by Bp. Bernard de Castanet, 1282-1330. In foreground the Bishop's Palace and the River Tarn. 442/ Coutances, Cathedral, with thin Norman towers. 443/ Toulouse, Church of the Jacobins. The mother-church of the Dominicans. With double nave. Begun 1260-1285, completed 1304. The vaults (30 metres high) are carried on seven columns of 22 metres. 444/ Poitiers, Cathedral. Capitals from the small northern portal. XIIth cent. 445/ Poitiers, Cathedral, 1166-1271. The first major Gothic 'Hallenkirche' (with equal naves). 446-447/ Crusaders' Gothic, Cyprus: I., the abbey of Bellapaïs; r., the former Cathedral of Nicosia. 448/ Templars' Church, Laon.



After 1220 the free lyric style appears in the graphic arts; the early Christian and Byzantine clichés are things of the past, at least as far as France is concerned. 449/ MS. of the Roman de la Rose, 1353. Paris, Bibl. Nat. 450/ Page from a 'Somme le Roi', ca. 1300. British Museum. 451-452/ Two drawings from the sketchbook of the architect Villard de Honnecourt, ca. 1235. Paris, Bibl. Nat. L., courtly love scene; r., design for side chapel in Reims Cathedral. 453/ Chartres, Cathedral. Detail from a window donated by the masons: the masons themselves can be seen at work on two statues. 454/ Lower portion of medallion from XIIIth cent. window in the ambulatory of Bourges Cathedral. A scene from the legend of Crescentius and Quiriaca.

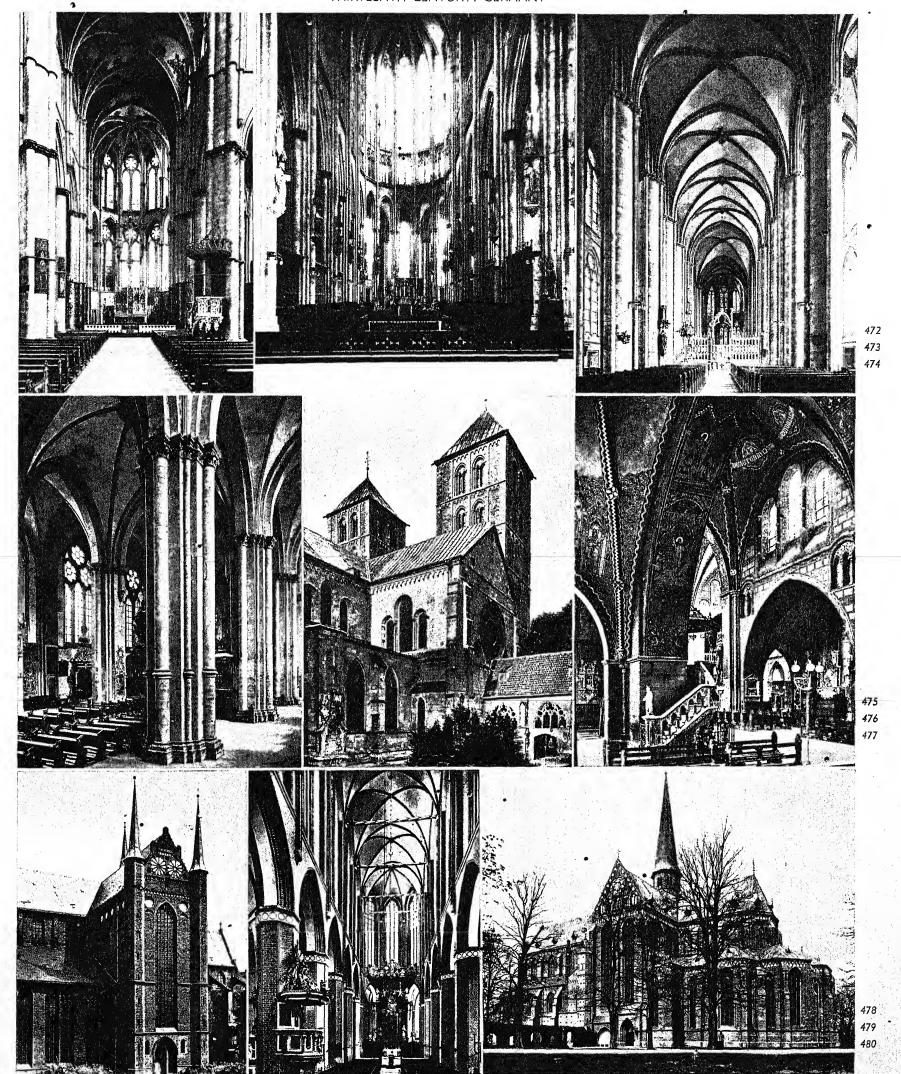


The groundplans of even the largest English cathedrals have the simplicity of design of an abbey church. The vaults are not high, and the main impression is of breadth, length, and the richness of decoration. There are no ambulatories with side chapels and no richly sculptured portals, but they have rich chapter-houses and magnificent towers. 455/ Wells, nave. 456/ Lincoln. 457/ Lincoln, Angel Choir, with original stained glass. Typically Early English. 458/ Wells, west front. 459/ Wells, Chapter House. Note vaulting fanning out from central pillar. 460-462/ Salisbury, the principal monument of Early English: 460/ The cloisters. 461/ The nave; the shafts in the triforium are of black Purbeck marble. 462/ Interior of cloisters.



Early Spanish Gothic is an importation from France: the three principal monuments, the Cathedrals of Burgos, Toledo and León, are derived from Bourges, Chartres and Amiens. But their interior furnishings, and especially the unique placing of the choirstalls in the centre of the nave in front of the crossing, give the Spanish churches a character of their own. 463/ Tarragona, Cathedral. Crossing and apse. Ca. 1200. 464/ Tarragona, Cathedral. Choir and Jantern. 465/ Cuenca, Cathedral. Ambulatory. 466/ León, Cathedral. From the choir, looking west. 467/ Toledo. The nave. 468/ Burgos, Cathedral. From the choir, looking west. The rich decoration dates from the late middle ages; the church itself is an imitation of Bourges. 469/ León, windows in nave (the original stained-glass has been entirely preserved). 470/ A contemporary monument: the Alhambra at Granada. 471/ Toledo, Xilith cent. synagogue, now the church of Santa Maria la Blanca.

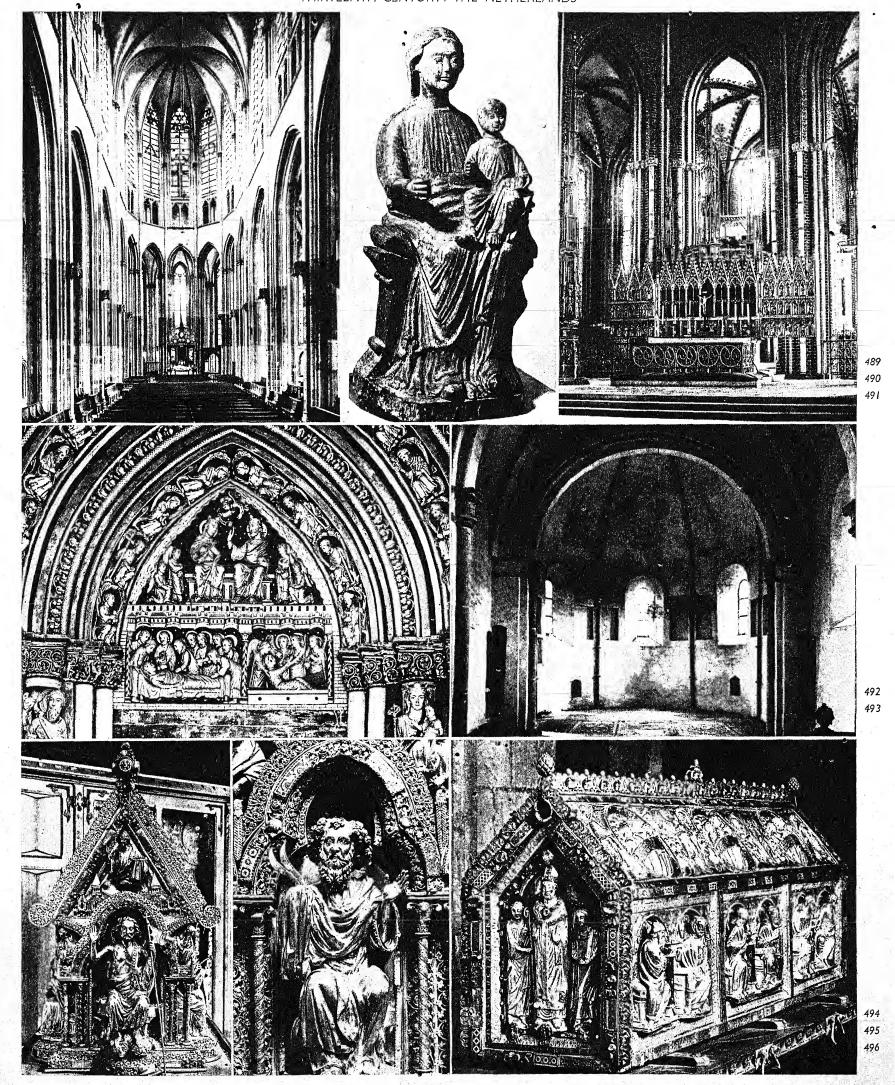
[cf. map 24]



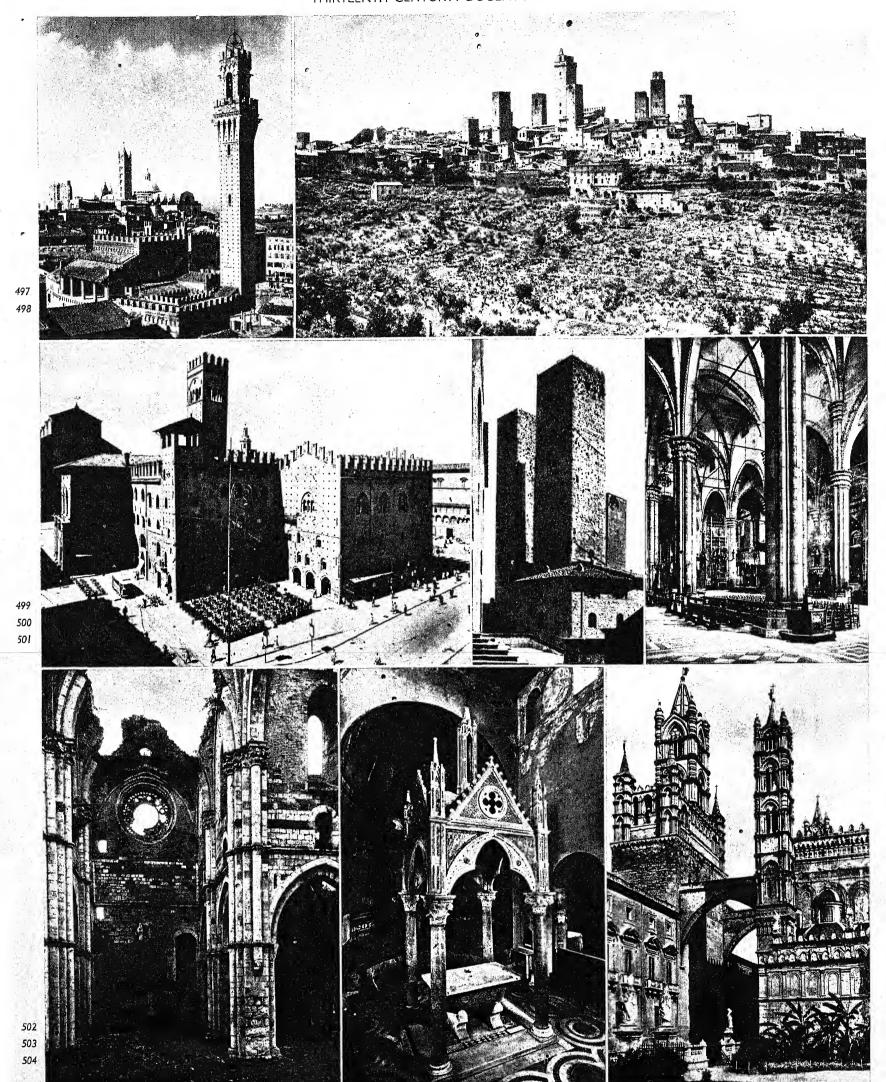
German Gothic begins sixty years after the French; its most original feature are the great brick churches on the plains of northern Germany. 472/ Trier, Liebfrauen: a double of the little church of St-Yved at Braisne. 473/ Cologne, Cathedral, choir, begun 1248. Copied from Amiens and Beauvais. 474/ St. Elisabeth, Marburg. One of the earliest and most beautiful 'Hallenkirchen' (with three naves of equal height). Begun 1235; related to Poitiers Cathedral. 475/ Paderborn Cathedral. A 'Hallenkirche', also related to Poitiers. 476-477/ Münster, Cathedral. Externally this has all the features of heavy Romanesque; Internally the church has low, cupola-forming vaults derived from those of Anjou. 478-480/ Three brick churches in Mecklenburg: 478/ Wismar, Georgenkirche; 479/ Wismar, Marienkirche (partly XIVth cent.); 480/ Doberan, Cistercian church with ambulatory and side chapels. [cf. map 24]



481/ Naumburg, Cathedral. Ekkehard and Uta; portraits of the founders, in the western choir. Masterpieces of expressive realism in XIIIth cent. Germany. 1250-126°C. 482/ The Crowning of Our Lady. Tympanum in side portal of Strasburg Cathedral. 1220-1230. 483, 485/ Details of no. 481. 484/ Mainz Cathedral, fragment of jubé (Lettner): the Damned. Mainz, Cathedral, Museum. 486/ The Year, between Day and Night, Sun and Moon, and the Four Seasons. Frontispiece to the 'Liber Floridus' from the Monastery of St. Florian, Austria. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek. 487/ Naumburg, Cathedral, St. John standing beneath the Cross. Detail from jubé. 488/ Jacob's Ladder and the Anointing of the stone of Bethel. From a XIIIth cent. antiphonary at St. Peter, Salzburg.



489/ Utrecht, Cathedral, choir. Related to Tournai and Soissons, and thus indirectly to Amiens and Cologne. Begun 1245; the bays in foreground are XVth cent. 490/ Virgin and Child, statue venerated at Bolsward in Friesland (Our Lady of the Seven Dolours). Probably XIIIth cent. 491/ Doberan, Mecklenburg. Choir of Cistercian church (cf. no. 480); altar ca. 1300. 492/ Maastricht, south portal of St. Servaas. The Virgin laid to rest and crowned in Heaven. 493/ Apse of the church at Bozum, Friesland. In cupola, XIIIth cent. fresco of Christ in His Majesty. 494-495/Tournai, Cathedral, shrine of St. Eleutherius, 1248. 496/ Maastricht, St. Servaas. Reliquary of St. Servatius, one of the masterpieces of the circle of Godefroid de Claire: ca. 1160. Eighty years separate the shrines of Tournai and Maastricht; the 'Gothic revolution' lies between.



In the XIIIth cent., too, Italy, the land of Innocent III, Thomas Aquinas, St. Francis, Dante and Giotto, remained true to herself. The characteristic feature is neither French Gothic nor northern feudalism, but the cities. In fact the city-culture of late antiquity was never wholly lost. 497/ Siena. R., the Palazzo Pubblico; I., the cathedral. 498/ San Gimignano, which still possesses nineteen towers of the town houses of the nobility. 499/ Bologna, palaces In front of San Petronio. 500/ San Gimignano, the 'Torri Salvucci'. 501/ Verona, Cathedral. Example of simplified Italian Gothic. 502/ San Galgano, near Siena. Ruins of Cistercian abbey, French Gothic, XIIIth cent. 503/ Rome, Sta. Maria in Cosmedin. Clborium (canopy over altar), and mosaic pavement of Adeodato Cosma, In the old VIIIth-XIth cent. church. 504/ Palermo, Cathedral. Bell-towers.

[cf. map 24]



505/ Mantua, Castello di S. Giorgio, XIVth cent. wing of the ducal palace. By Bartolino da Novara; example of rich, pre-Renaissance seigneurial palace. 506/ San Gimignano (cf. no. 498), façade of the Collegiata. 507/ Venice, St. Mark's. The Piazza, with Palace of the Doges in the background. St. Mark's is a smaller copy of the Church of the Apostles in Constantinople. Begun in the XIth cent., it was decorated with mosaics through the course of centuries; the Gothic pinnacles are XIVth cent. 508/ Padua, Il Santo, the Basilica of St. Anthony inspired by St. Mark's. The cloisters are XIIIth cent. 509/ Palermo, Cathedral. Tomb of the Emperor Frederick II, the leading figure of his age. 510/ St. Paul-without-the-Walls. Interior of cloisters. Together with the cloisters of St. John Lateran, these are considered to be the masterpieces of the Cosmati, the XIIIth cent. Roman specialists in masaic and intersia-work. [cf. map 24]



511/ Boniface VIII proclaims the Holy Year of 1300. Fresco in St. John Lateran. 512/ The great founders of the religious orders I. to r.: St. Francis, St. Benedict, St. Bernard, St. Romuald; kneeling, St. John of Matha (?), St. Thomas Aquinas and Peter of Verona the Martyr. St. Dominic is more to the left of the fresco, and is not included in this reproduction. Fresco by Fra Angelico, Florence, St. Mark's. 513/ St. Louis of France. Fresco by Giotto. Florence, Santa Croce.

[cf. maps 20-23]

THE RENAISSANCE OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Philosophic contemplation and lyric inspiration (in piety, architecture, sculpture and poetry) are indeed the hallmarks of the XIIth century, one of the most creative periods in human history that was no whit less important for the West than the better known and more easily appreciated XIIIth century.

The XIIth century truly manifests the birth of Europe. Mediaeval Christendom, now a secure and powerful community of free peoples, creates the early scholasticism of Chartres and Paris, the fully perfected system of Romanesque art, and the courtly vernacular love lyric, and so prepares the spiritual environment in which it was to live for centuries. The framework in which all this happened is not a totalitarian state but a hierarchy of small communities. At the centre of these appears for the first time the 'commune', an entity much more human and generous and much less aristocratic than the ancient Greek polis to which it succeeded, but on the other hand, owing to the implicit confidence of its members in the reality of faith, much more idealistic.

The kingdom of France, more populated than her sister nations, is now the undoubted centre. What still remains today of Romanesque monuments in this fortunate land defies description (map 21). In such regions as Saintonge, and Burgundy are to be found hundreds of monumental churches each village possesses a masterpiece, great or small, often neglected to be sure, but nonetheless unmistakeable. This is true, too, of most of the territories adjacent to France, except that the churches are spread over a wider area. In the XIIth century almost every region has its own architectural school and distinctive type of building. The south of France has barrel-vaulted churches with a single 303 nave and Poitou has churches with three naves of equal height. Normandy has the high unvaulted church with a tribune, Auvergne the archaic pyramidal 306-8 church and a rich choir with ambulatory and chapels, and Burgundy the high tribuneless church with clerestory, the type of the third Cluny. All these types have not yet been fully exploited when already, in the Royal Domain 376 in the Île de France where Suger was building St.-Denis and Heary the Boar 385 had begun the cathedral of Sens, there suddenly appeared within a few years

the beginnings of a quite different style of architecture — 'Early Gothic'.

395-9 And by 1194, with the plan for Chartres, Gothic had already become the classic style that was to conquer the whole of the West (see inset to map 21 and cf. map 26).

Not only did the Normans put England into order, they also founded

Not only did the Normans put England into order, they also founded 573-580 on the other side of Christendom a half-Byzantine, half-Arabic cultural centre at Sicily, whose monuments, together with those of Venice, give the clearest picture of the mid-Byzantine provincial manner at its best (map 21 and 26).

The Pyrenees were no longer an obstacle; with her knights and her Cluniac 334-341 monks France had accomplished the spiritual conquest of the Spain of the Cid.

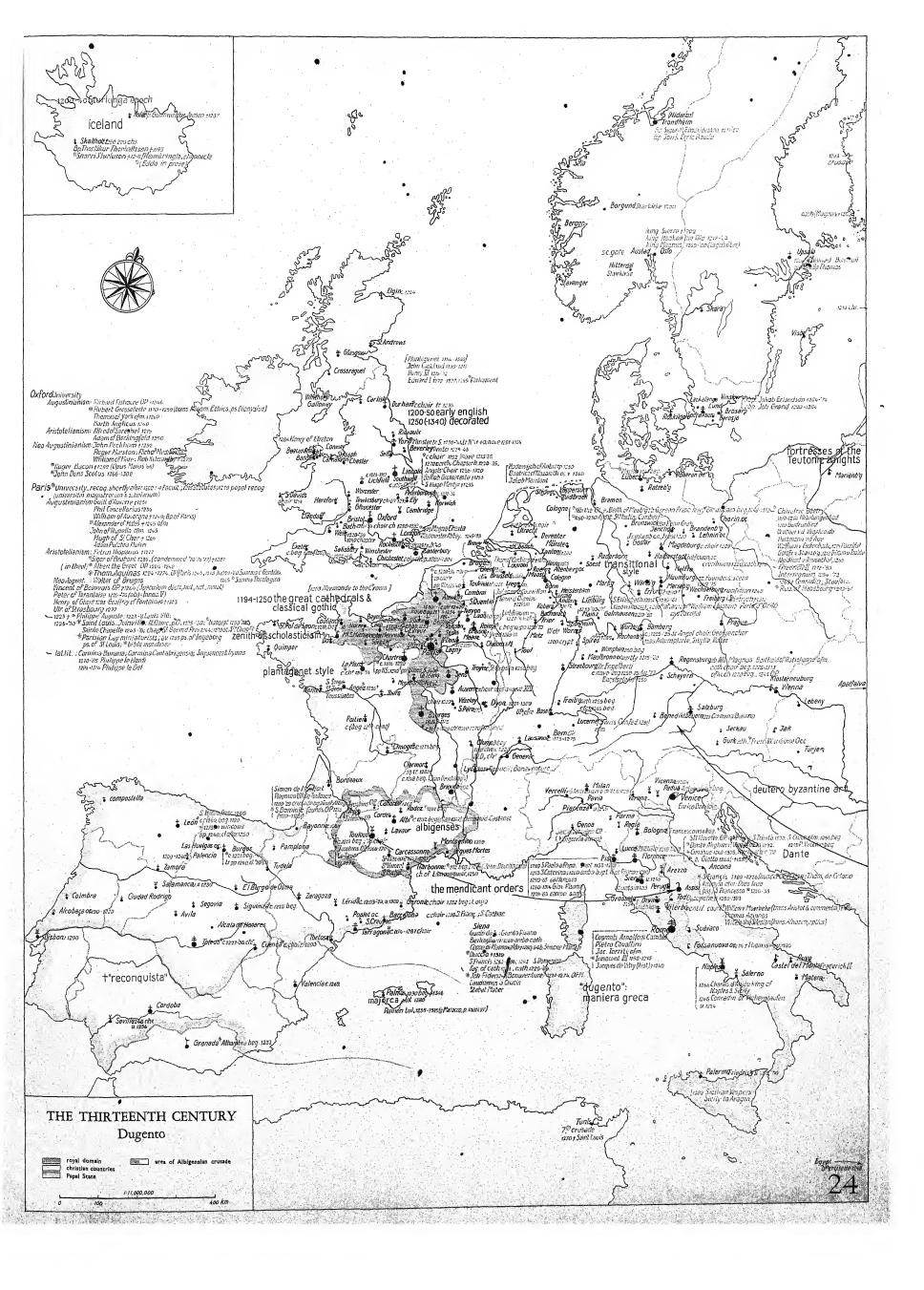
The immense prestige of Cluny radiated from Burgundy, but Cluny itself was outshone after 1125 by the sudden emergence of Citeaux, or rather, of the man 3657 who at Cîteaux entered the new strict order of Cistercians and who dominated the entire century – Bernard of Clairvaux.

The figure of Bernard marks the watershed of the spiritual tendencies of • the age, and it is he who makes us feel that the period between 1120 and 1150 is the turning point of the Middle Ages. He himself, combining chaste asceticism with flowing lyricism, stands unquestionably for the future; so too does his antagonist Abelard, the rationalist who still wants to believe. But his other antagonist, Peter the Venerable, under whom the fame of Cluny suddenly declined, belongs to the past. We can say that the era of the traditional, conservative and strictly monastic culture that leaned on the old Christian culture is at an end, and that the modern popular and lyrical - in a word, 'Gothic' - culture has begun. Further, that the symbolic and predominantly Platonic conception of the world associated with the masters of the school of Chartres (the background, it should not be forgotten, of the wonderful cathedral) has given way to scholasticism with its concern for concreteness, realism, and cause-and-effect. After 1130 scholastic theology dominates ecclesiastical life for centuries. It is neither the Fathers nor the liturgical symbols that count, but the new teachers with their reasons and their systems.

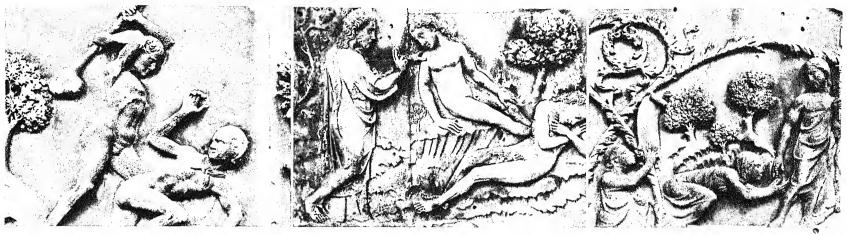
But the lyric is liberated as well as critical and rationalistic thought. Bernard of Clairvaux created the emotional language for the limitless feeling which was now turned upon the humanity of Christ and the affective aspects of religion. His Latin is so vivid that it can be considered as the first great French prose. For their part the Provençal troubadours, Bernard of Ventadour and Bertrand de Born, and the poets of the chivalric romances, developed the idea of courtly love as the secular antithesis to Bernardine mysticism. There arose that typically Western theme, that Antiquity had not known and that is still unfamiliar to the East, the worship of Woman, and even within the 449 sanctuary the growing reverence to Notre Dame – the Mother of God – became 451 more and more conspicuous.

The century is so rich that it is impossible even to enumerate its principal features on a single page. We think of the decorative work of the Meuse valley, of the Nibelungenlied, of Hildegard of Bingen, of Hohenstaufen architecture, 355 and of the brilliant style of the German miniaturists who owed so much to 345 Byzantine iconography. The principal feature around 1200 is the expansion of French Gothic, which went together with the spiritual hegemony of Paris. For at that moment the kingdom hitherto confined to the Île-de-France spread its influence across the whole of France, making Paris not only the capital, but also the vital centre of the country. Thus Gothic became identical with the style of the French royal house.

102







514-516/ Details from the façade of Orvieto Cathedral. XIVth cent. Cain and Abel; the creation of Eve; Christ appears to St. Mary Magdalene.

[cf. maps 24-27]

514

GOTHIC CIVILIZATION

The homogeneous and wholly Western civilization of the XIIIth century and the two following centuries that followed it has been given the name of 'Gothic', an adjective first applied to the architecture of the period and having originally a pejorative implication. The only justification for the epithet is the fact that after 1200 the passive dependence on Antiquity and the old Christian past was replaced by a new and fresh creative impulse, searching for the broadest synthesis.

What today impresses us most in the XIIIth century are the cathedrals of classical Gothic, the Parisian scholasticism of Thomas and Bonaventure, the mendicant orders, and the courtly poetry. All these elements live in a Gothic landscape. dominated by the theocratic figure of Innocent III, the Pope who could receive a St. Francis and depose kings. If we centre these elements around the opposite poles of lyrical and rational consciousness, then the picture becomes clear.

Anyone who thinks twice about it will realize that Gothic is not simply an architectural system based on the combination of rib-vault, pointed arch and buttress, as Viollet-le-Duc thought it in the previous century. Its hallmark is the lyrical, even ecstatic elevation and the deliberate creation of high transparent walls in which glazed openings triumph over the thick supports - in other words a reaction, in the name of sweetness and light, from the heavy cubic masses of the enclosed Romanesque system; and its purpose is the realization of a great liturgical idea: that the Church is a sensible anticipation of the Heavenly Jerusalem. To see how this was technically accomplished it is 382- only necessary to look at the series Sens-Chartres-Rheims-Amiens-Beauvais. 424 But the choir of Beauvais collapsed: the limit was reached, and after that there were only elegant and frivolous variations.

In some countries, such as in Spain, Gothic remained purely a French 471 importation. But England went her own way after the building of Canterbury 472- choir on the model of Sens, and developed the Early English and Decorated 480 styles. In Germany there was a conservative but vigorous transitional style, followed by a self-made and simpler national style. In Italy the Cistercians 550- first came with their Early Burgundian, then came the mendicant orders 557 with a sort of primitive barn-like Gothic, while all the time the iconography 497- and draughtsmanship in the principal centres of Siena, Rome and Pisa re-510 mained more or less faithful to the Byzantine manner. (For a general picture of the spread of French and regional Gothic see map 26.)

The same lyrical outburst is typified by the appearance of St. Francis and the ideal of poverty of the mendicants, the Friars Minor, the Friars Preacher, Carmelites and Augustinian Hermits. In contrast to the older and refined 542 landowning monastic orders and the strict, silent Cistercians (the born pioneers 560 of the countryside), the mendicants built their churches for preaching in the middle of the cities and began their apostolate for the common people.

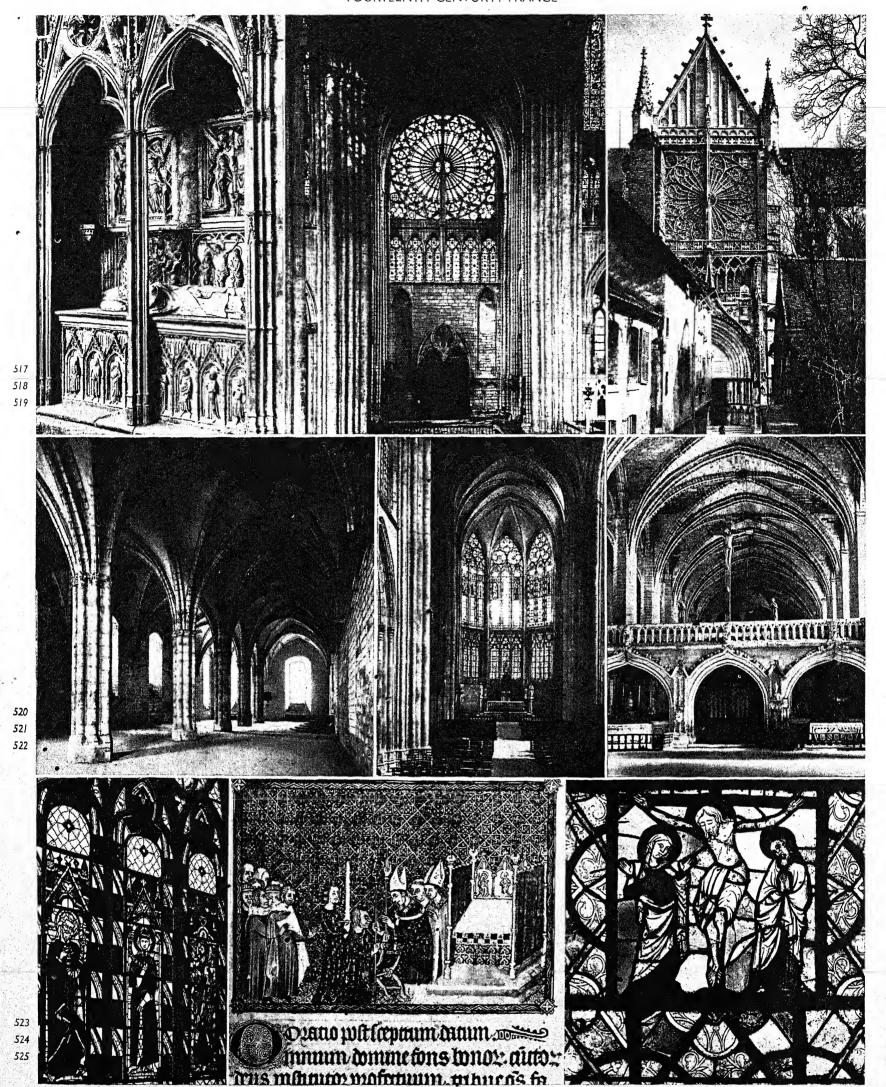
For the era of cities has started. What began in North Italy in the XIth century and spread into the North of France, now became typical for the whole of the West: alongside of clergy and nobility there grew up the 'bonnes villes', with royal privileges and with their own style of living, which now became the new centres of civilized life.

There was also a great change in the world of pictorial representation and of iconography. The holy symbols became human situations pregnant with 555/ emotion and with a popular pathos, and, around 1300, Giotto discovered a 564 mode of design, extremely expressive and typically Italian, which harmonized with the monumental proportions of the great fresco. Chivalric poetry too, with its original and gentle feeling for nature and subtle allegories, belongs to this growing lyrical awareness.

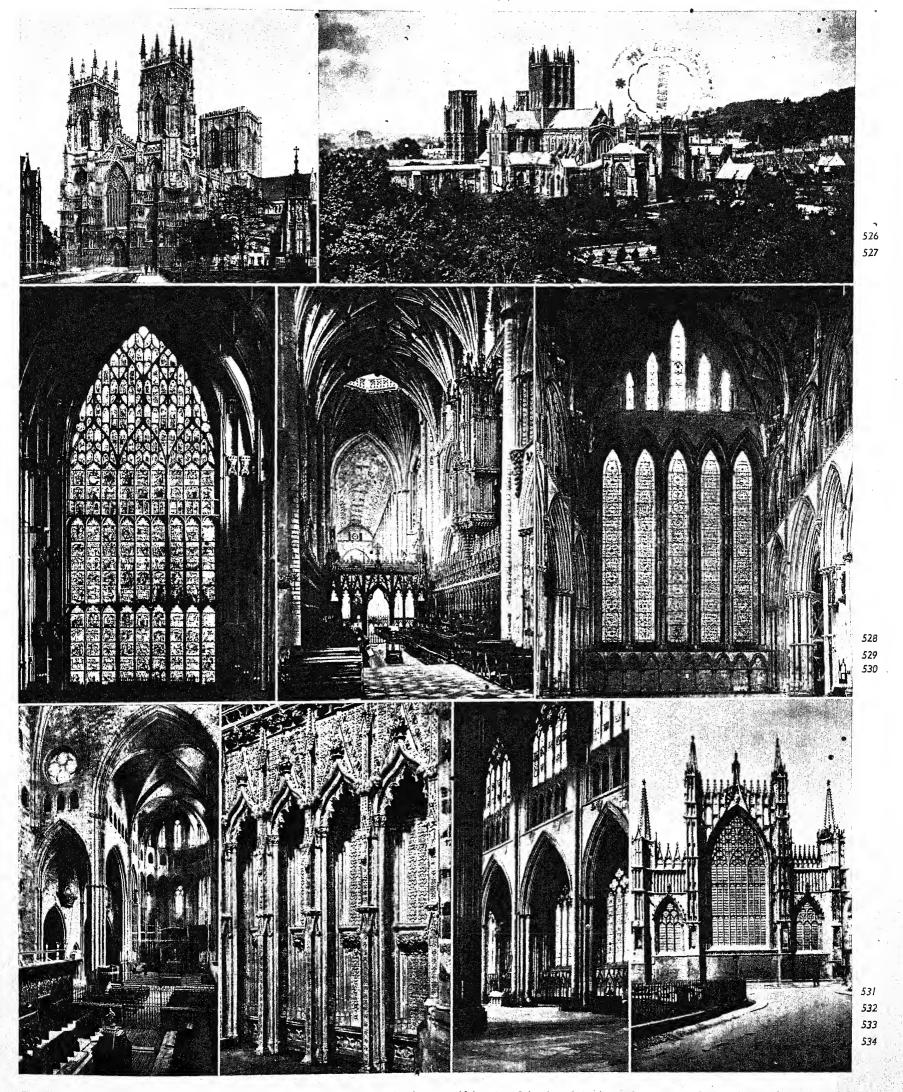
The rational consciousness of total reality, typified at this time by the passion for classification, can only be compared with that of the Athenians. The XIIIth century is the period of brilliant, complete, and fully thought-out systems. There are many: those of Duns Scotus, of Bonaventure and of Thomas Aquinas. The latter, which was afterwards to receive its imaginative embodiment in Dante's vision of the Divina Commedia, is the most realistic of the three, and 512/638 is in essence an Aristotelianism with an additional Christian dimension, or, to change the metaphor, raised to the higher power of Revealed Truth. In Aquinas all things have their inevitable place, and the Platonic denigration of everyday reality is transformed into an Aristotelian affirmation of the tangible reality in which general concepts have their basis. The same connexion between idealism and naturalism explains the vivid, meaningful quality of Gothic iconography. The thousands of subjects which sometimes are to be found in a single cathedral form nonetheless a unity and never clash with the architectural framework; they remain as portions of a well-ordered encyclopedia, popular yet scholastic, subtly yet naïvely distributed over countless portals, gables, windows, and leaves of manuscripts. From the point of sheer quantity it should be remembered that there are more than six thousand subjects in Notre Dame de Chartres, and the number in the Moralized Bible of the time 400-402 of St Louis also runs into thousands.

National characteristics show themselves everywhere in architecture and 455-462 figurative decoration. In England there is calm decorum and open handed simplicity of effect; in Germany an exaggerated and sometimes strained ex- 481-487 pressiveness, as for instance in the statues of the founders of the cathedral at 430-436 Naumburg; and in the France of St. Louis and of Joinville we find figures 409-418 that are natural and noble, but sometimes over-precious or naïve. The years from 1200 to 1270 are the peak of an exceptionally harmonious achievement feelings are still spontaneous, dress is simple, architecture is resourceful and strong, and genius has not yet degenerated into ingenuity. But after 1300 things were different. The XIVth century (map 25) is like a late afternoon; the sun has passed its zenith and is moving down the sky. Buildings in the cities become too elegant, statues - twisted and thin - stand perched on tiny pedestals and are sheltered under tiny baldachinos; texts and figures are either too mannered or else attest to a hypersensitive and dreamy way of life. It is not only the century of the Canterbury Tales, Wycliffe and the Vision of Piers Plewman, but also the century of Richard Rolle and the great German mystics - Tauler, Suso, and Meister Eckhart - and also of the school of Siena. It was 563 also the age of great disillusionment, for the ideal pope and emperor had not appeared. After the humiliation of Boniface VIII at Agnani the popes lived 511 in exile in the immense palace of Avignon; the Friars Minor saw within their 520 own body the schism of the Spirituals; and soon the Great Schism was to split Christendom in two and there were to be two popes. Half of France was in the hands of the English and the Hundred Years War had scarcely begun when the Black Death came and decimated the intellectual élite in almost all countries. The Crusades petered out and Venice became all the richer, The philosophers of Paris and Oxford quarrelled over the possibility of the valid knowledge of reality, and were split into two rival camps, the via antiqua and the via moderna, and the latter, the party of Ockham or 'nominalists', who asserted that concepts were only words, were the victors.

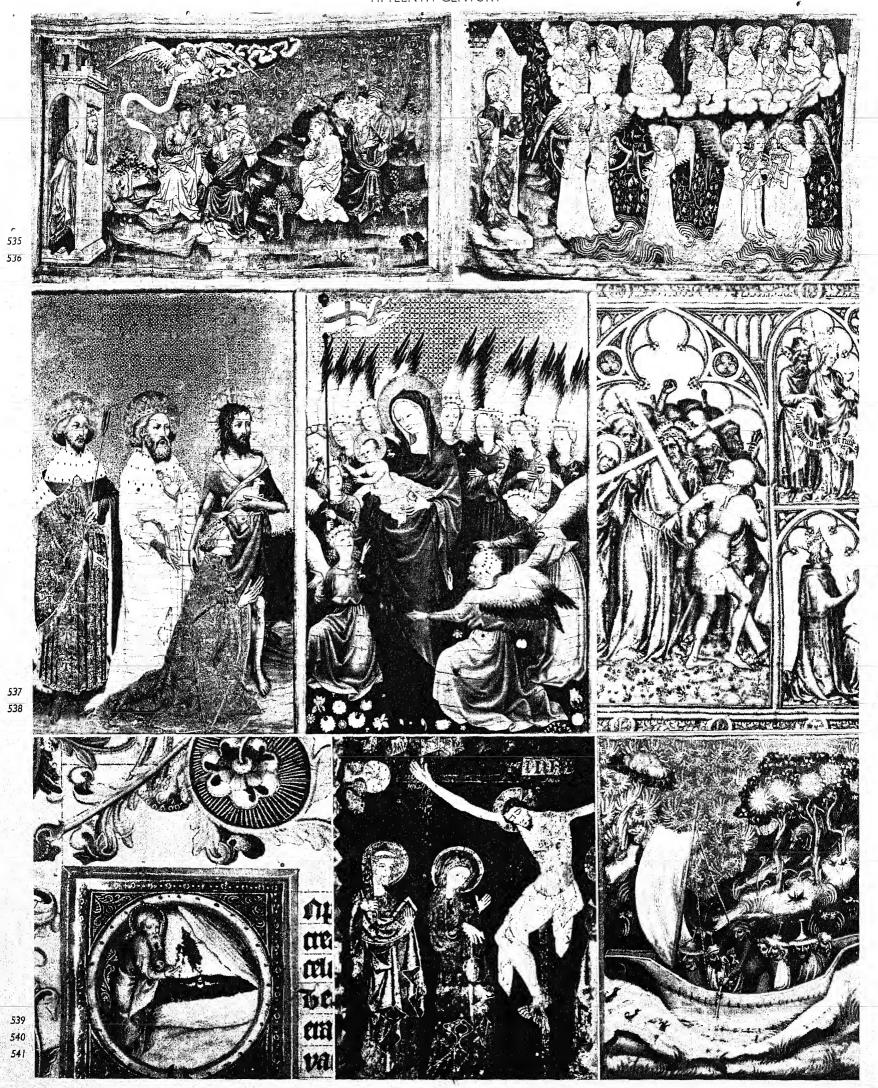
The world of 1250 that had seemed so solid was visibly crumbling, while feelings became more intense and devotions more prolific. The people honoured the Blessed Sacrament and the Mother of God, and listened in sermons to dramatic exempla and to scholastic distinctions. The cynical Roman de la Rose, or the Vita Nuova of Dante, or the Canzoni of Petrarch, were read to the 639 intellectuals in their halls richly decorated with the first great tapestries (the most beautiful are those of Angers, which depict the Apocalypse). At the 535-6 same time in the North the middle classes thronged to the Hallenkirchen (churches with equal naves), already overcrowded with altars and statues, to hear Gerhard Groot preach against religious apathy and against the decay of the social groups who had begun to build the cathedrals. Only 'begun' because after 1300 nothing was completed any more. Christendom was living on its past, and was getting worried about it.



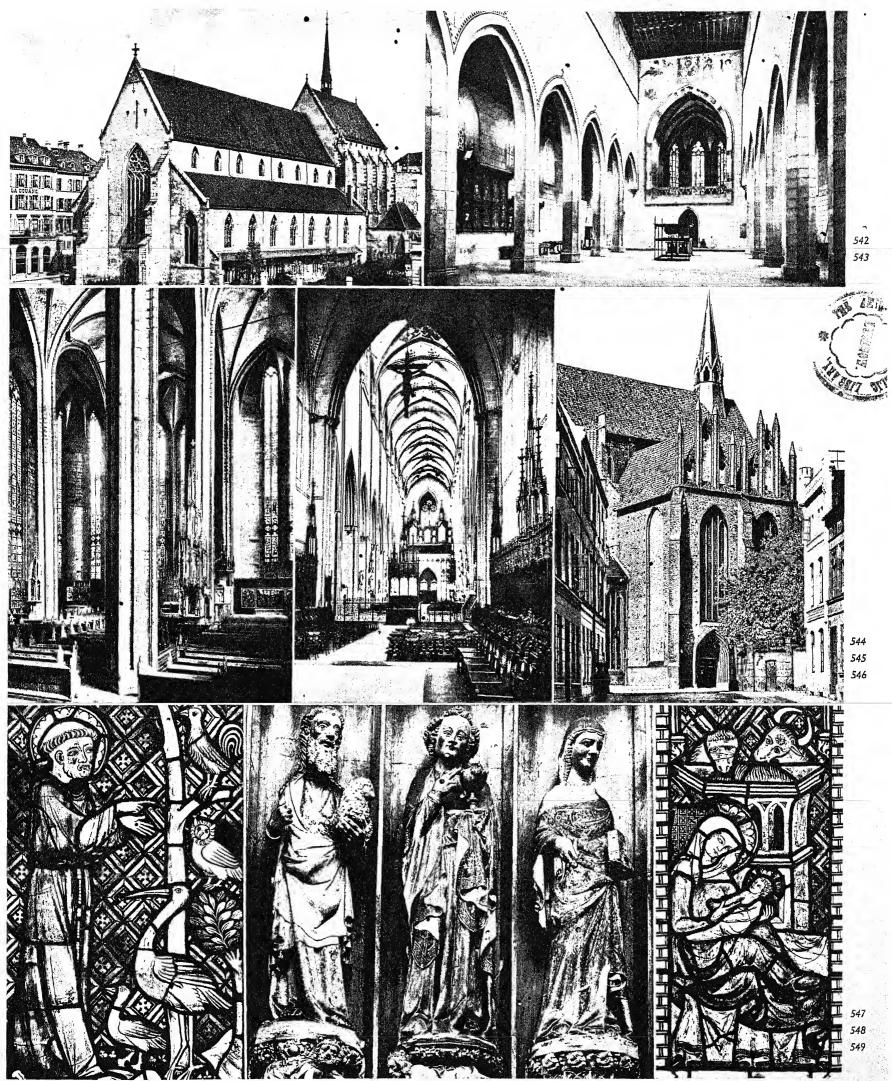
XIVth cent. architecture is elegant, thin and light. 517/ Limoges, Cathedral. Tomb of Bp. Bernard de Brun. 518-519/ Troyes, Cathedral. Interior and exterior of northern arm of transept, with XIVth cent. rose window. 520/ Avignon, hall in the papal palace. 521/ Troyes, St. Urbain. One of the most elegant pieces of late XIIIth cent. architecture. Typical of a small but rich church. 522/ La Chaise-Dieu, near Le Puy. Interior of abbey church; jubé of later date. 523/ Troyes, St. Urbain. Window with Zacharias, Benjamin and Amos. Late XIIIth cent. 524/ Miniature from the Coronation Book of King Charles V (1365). The anointing and crowning of a sovereign were considered as sacramentalia. London, British Museum. 525/ Troyes, St. Urbain. Detail from window: the Crucifixion.



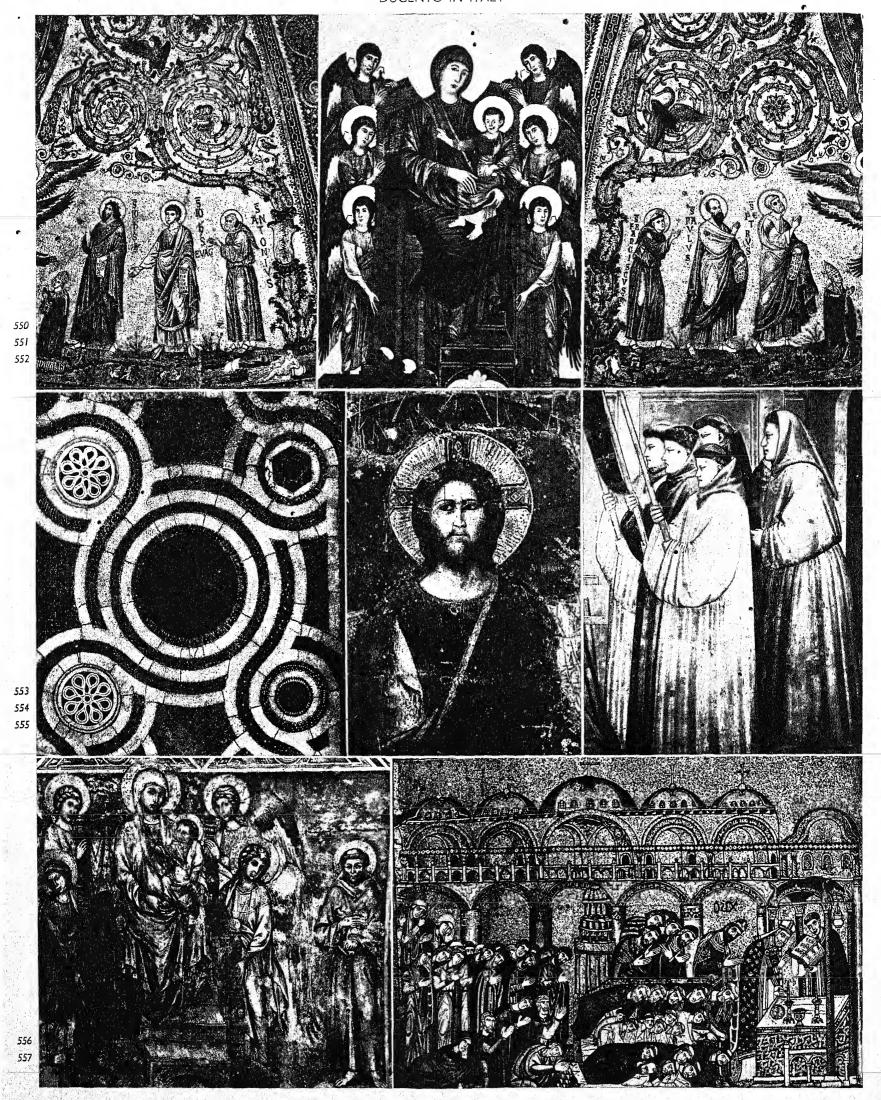
English Gothic in the XIVth cent. remained independent. Its characteristics are large buildings, over-elaboration of details and simplicity of structure. 526/ York, Minster. West front and towers. 527/ Wells from the south east. R., the Chapter House. 528/ York, Minster. The great window in the east wall of the choir, cf. no. 534. 529/ Ely, looking from the choir to the XIIth cent. nave. 530/ York, Minster. Windows in the northern transept, called 'the Five Sisters'. 531/ Gerona, Cathedral, Catalonia. The choir, begun in the XIIth cent., follows the French pattern. The nave, built later, is the single nave type to be found in the Midi; it is the broadest Gothic nave (almost 23 metres). 532/ Lincoln Cathedral. Detail from choir-screen. 533/ York, Minster, bays of the nave. 534/ York, Minster, east front, with the great window of the choir shown in no. 528 (cf. the French choir windows in nos. 414, 424). [cf. map 25]



535-536/ Two of the eighty tapestries in the Cathedral of Angers devoted to the Apocalypse: I., the Merchants mourning over Babylon; r., the Harpists on the sea of glass (cf. no. 277 for Xth cent. treatment of same subject). 537/ The Wilton Diptych. King Richard II presented to the Virgin Mary by St. John the Baptist, St. Edward the Confessor, and St. Edmund king and martyr. Probably from Paris, after 1400. One of the most outstanding pieces of mediaeval art. London, National Gallery. 538/ Detail from the Parement de Narbonne', an antependium. L., the Way of the Cross; r. the Church, with portrait of King Charles V, the great benefactor, below. 539 & 541/Two miniatures from the Wenceslas Bible in the Plantin-Moretus Museum at Antewerp: I., the Creation; r., Solomon's fleet en route for Hiram. 540/ Utrecht, Pieterskerk. Fragment of fresco on pillar. [cf. map 25]



The churches of the Mendicants, to be found in every town, are extremely sober, with a broad nave and simple choir. 542/ Church of the Discalced Friars at Basel. 543/ Church of the Clarisses at Königsfelden, Aargau. For the celebrated windows in the choir cf. nos. 547 & 549. The XIVth cent. is the period of the German city churches: simple basilicas and 'Hallenkirchen' with rich interior decorations. 544/ Soest, Westphalia. Wiesenkirche, one of the most beautiful 'Hallenkirchen' in the land. 545/ Ulm, the Minster: a vast city basilica; choirstalls from XVth cent. 546/ Wismar, Marienkirche. Southern transept, XIVth cent.; typical example of German brick architecture. 547 & 549/ Two details from the choir windows of Königsfelden, Aargau (cf. no. 543): 1., St. Francis preaching to the birds; r., the Incarnation. 548/ Soest, Wiesepkirche. Statues in the choir: St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, the Virgin Mary.

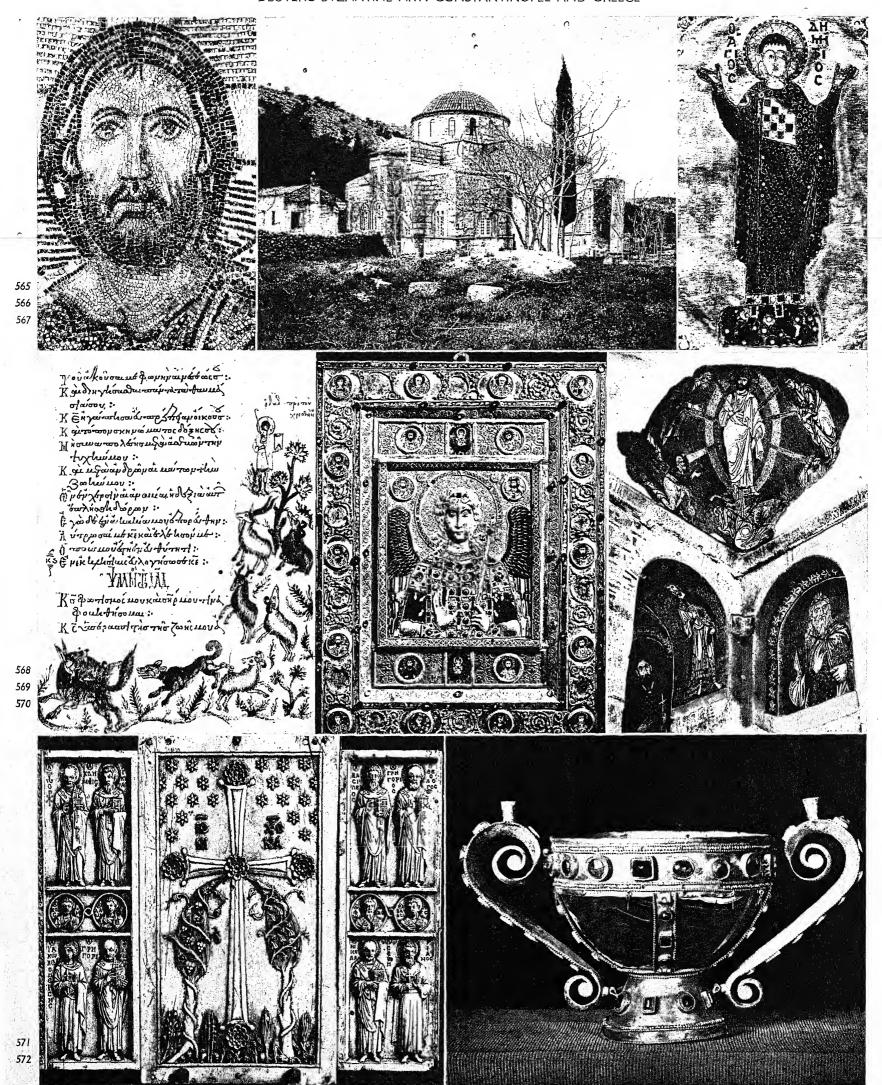


Drawing is still wholly Byzantine during the Dugento; there is nothing nobler than the Italian figurative style just before the appearance of Giotto. 550 & 552/ Two fragments from the mosaic by Jacopo Torriti OFM in the apse of Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome. The acanthus motif is early Christian; I., the cardinal founder, the two St. Johns and St. Antony of Padua; r., St. Francis, Sts. Peter and Paul, and Pope Honorius III. 551/ Madonna and angels, icon by Cimabue, from Florence. Paris, Louvre. 553/ Detail from 'cosmatesque' floor of St. John Lateran. 554/ Detail from Last Judgement by Pietro Cavallini, the immediate predecessor of Giotto. In the choir of the sisters of Sta. Cecilia, Rome. 555/ Detail from the Funeral of St. Francis, by Giotto; the natural pathos of the Italian here breaks through the formal Byzantine manner. S. Croce, Florence. 556/ Madonna; r., St. Francis. By Cimabue. Assisi, upper church of St. Francis. 557/ Mosaic in St. Mark's, Venice; depicting the Eucharistic service in the church itself, in the presence of the Doge (DUX).

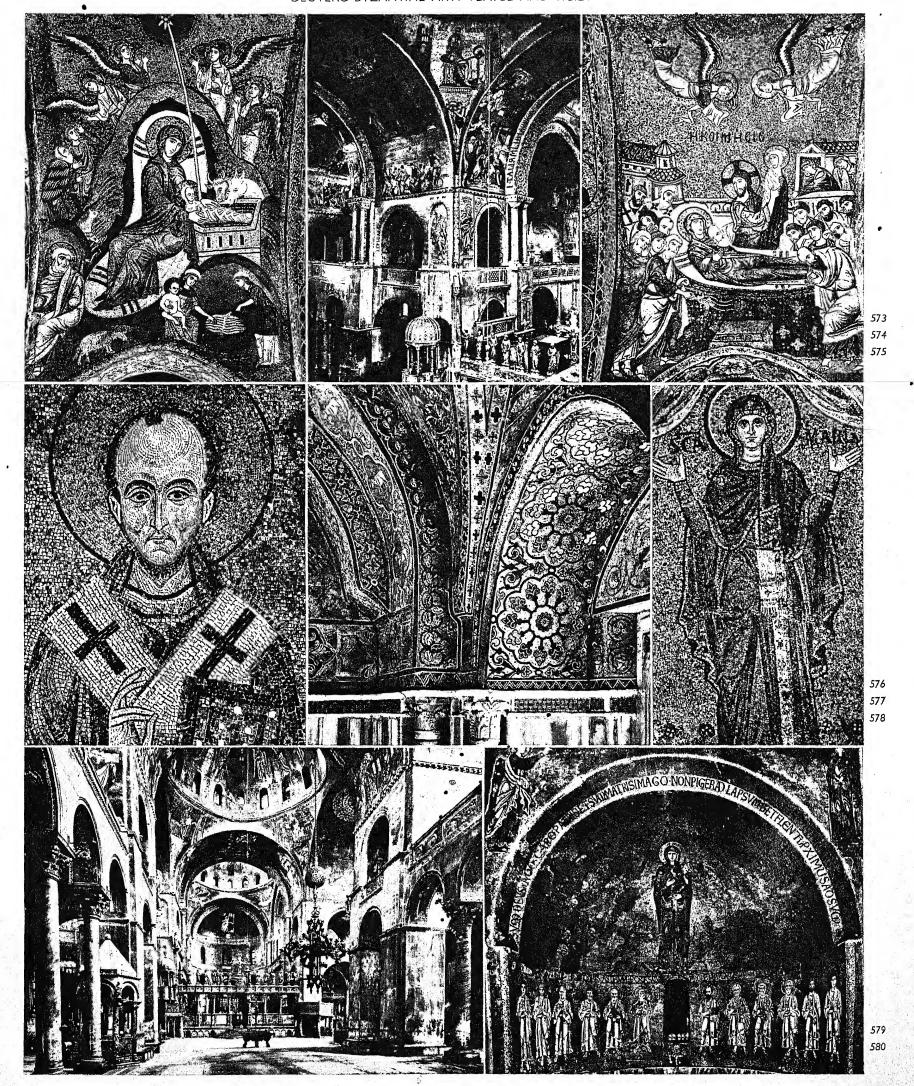
[cf. map 24]



558/ Milan, Cathedral. East front. The church was begun in the XIVth cent. and only completed in the XIXth. 559/ Siena, Cathedral. 560/ Siena, S. Domenico. A typical Dominican church: high, broad, and undecorated; in fact simply a space for preaching. 561/ Florence, the Cathedral. Note the colossal proportions and simplification of the Gothic ground-plan. 562/ Orvieto, Cathedral: late example of the type of the ancient basilica; the Gothic details are purely decorative. In contrast with the churches of Northern Europe, this type has large expanses of wall-space decorated with frescoes, and little stained glass. 563-563a/ Two works from the school of Siena: I., St. Dominic, by Simone Martini; r., Madonna by Lippo Memmi. Both in Museo dell'Opera at Orvieto. 564/ St. Francis on the Christmas Eve at Greccio. Fresco in the upper church at Assisi, probably by Giotton Decorative details of the choir are Trecento.

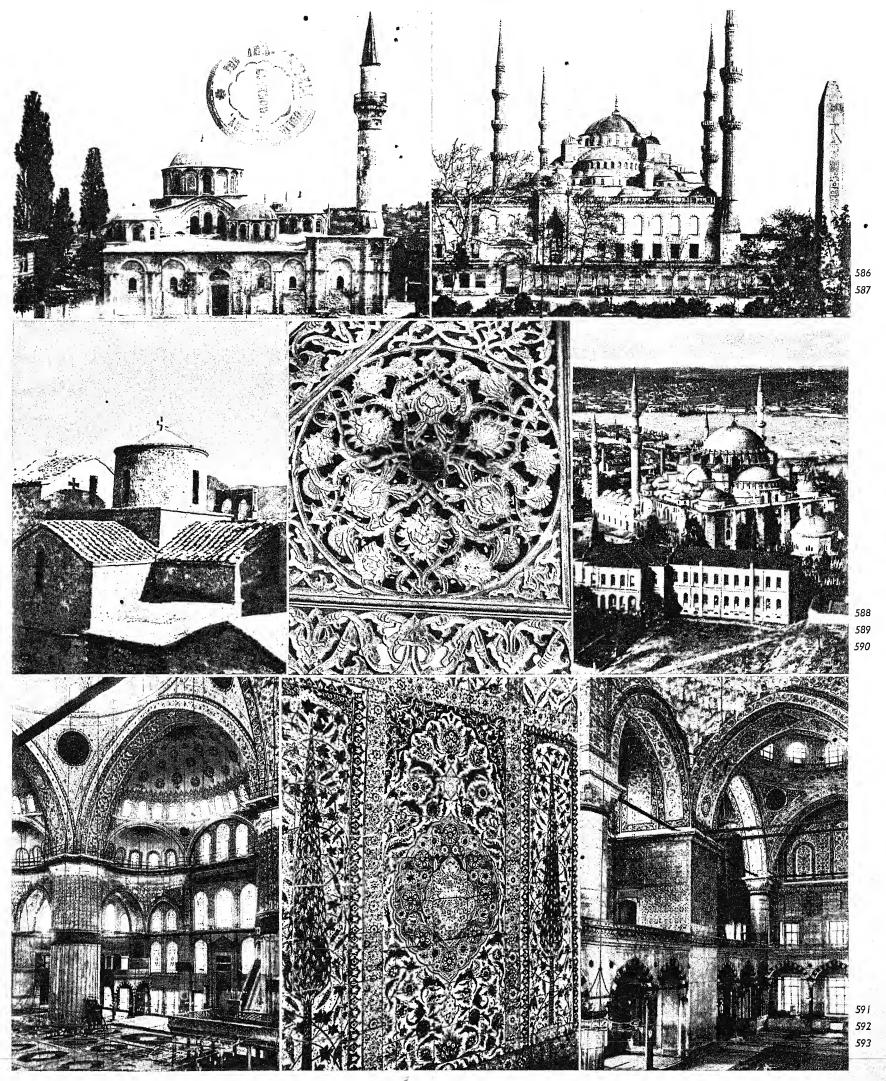


The so-called Deutero-Byzantine Renaissance begins under the Macedonian dynasty in the 2nd half of the IXth cent. and reaches its zenith in the Xth-Xlth cents.; its centre is Constantinople. 565/ Christ, Fragment of a mosaic in the tympanum over the main door in the narthex of Sancta Sophia. IXth cent. 566/ Daphne, near Athens. Monastery church, 1100. The churches are mostly small, narrow and with too many cupolas. 567/ The martyr Demetrius of Thessalonica. Enamel, Berlin. Xlth cent. 568/ Psalms 25 and 26, with David and his flock. Psalter from Stoudion, 1066. 569/ Michael the Taxiarch, bookbinding. Venice, treasure of St. Mark's (acquired 1204). 570/ Corner of the monastery church at Daphne (cf. no. 566), under the cupola. Remnants of mosaic of ca. 100: the Transfiguration and saints. 571/ Rear view of the 'Triptique Harbaville', a Xth cent. ivory. Paris, the Louvre. 572/ Chalice from Constantinople, Xth cent. Since 1204 in St. Mark's, Venice.



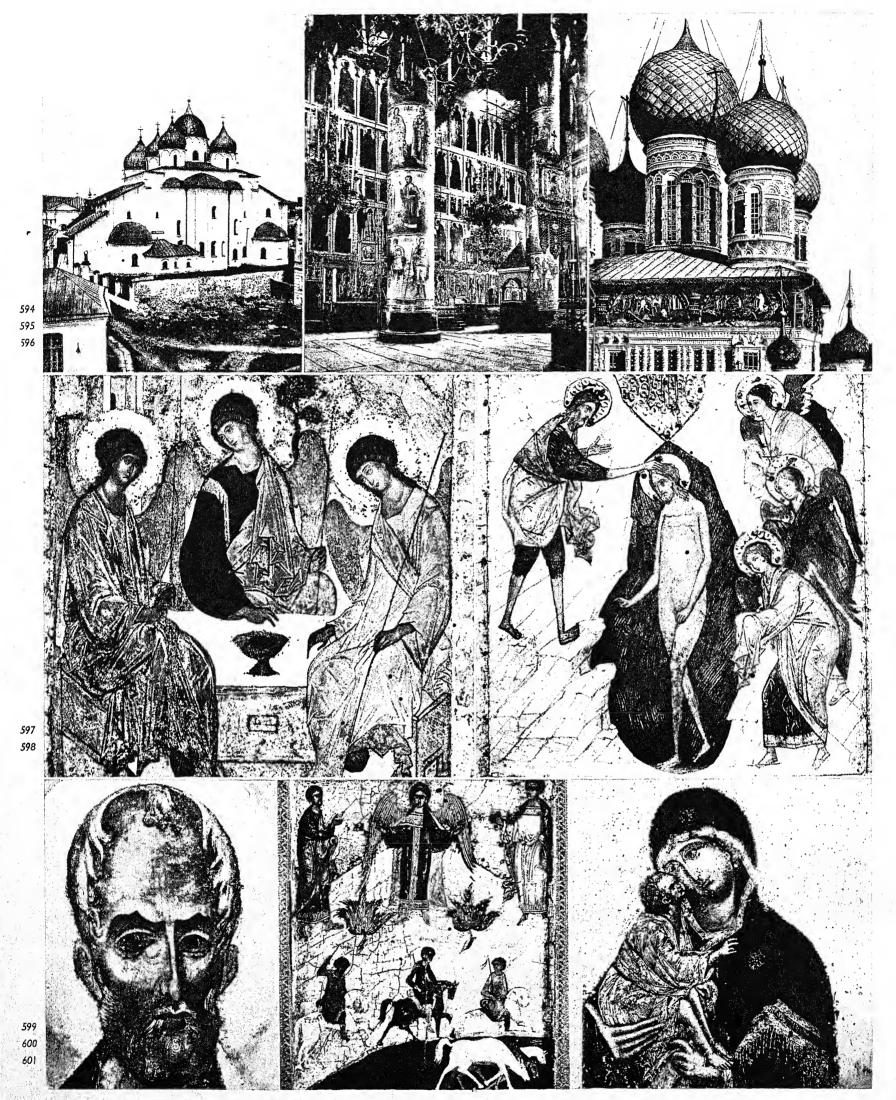
The most outstanding relics of Deutero-Byzantine art are to be found in Venice and Sicily. 573/ The Incarnation (Gennèsis). Mosaic, 1140-1143. Martorana, Palermo. 574/ Pillar in the Crossing, St. Mark's, Venice. Xith cent.; mosaics Xilth-Xvith cent. 575/ The Assumption (Koimèsis). Palermo, Martorana. 576/ St. John Chrysostom, Cappella Palatina, Palermo. He is the 'golden mouth' of the Greek Church, and the Divine Liturgy bears his name. 577/ Detail from Palace of Palermo, Xiith cent. 578/ The Virgin Mary as Mediatrix (the Praying Church); example of the 'Blacherniotissa'. Ravenna, Archbp.'s Palace, Xiith cent. 579/ Venice, St. Mark's. A smaller copy of the Church of the Apostles at Constantinople. The mosaics in the cupolas are from the Xith-Xiilth cent. 580/ Torcello, near Venice. Mosaic in the apse of the old cathedral: the Virgin Mary and the Apostles.

581-582/ Double icon in mosaic with the Twelve Greater Feasts. XIIIth cent. Left panel: the Annunciation, Incarnation, Presentation in the Temple, Baptism, Transfiguration and Resurrection of Lazarus. Right panel: the Entry into Jerusalem, Crucifixion, Descent into Hell, Ascension, Pentecost and the Assumption. These scenes are extremely delicate clichés which have gradually evolved and which do not develop further after 1200. 583/ Sakkos (dalmatic of a metropolitan) with the Transfiguration. Rome, treasure of St. Peter. XIIIth or early XIVth cent. 584/ Mistra (near Sparta, in the Peloponnese). The Pompei of late Byzantine art. Cruciform church with cupola, typical of the period. 585/ Mistra, Church of Peribleptos. Fresco in apse: the Divine Liturgy celebrated by Christ and the Angels. XIIIth cent.

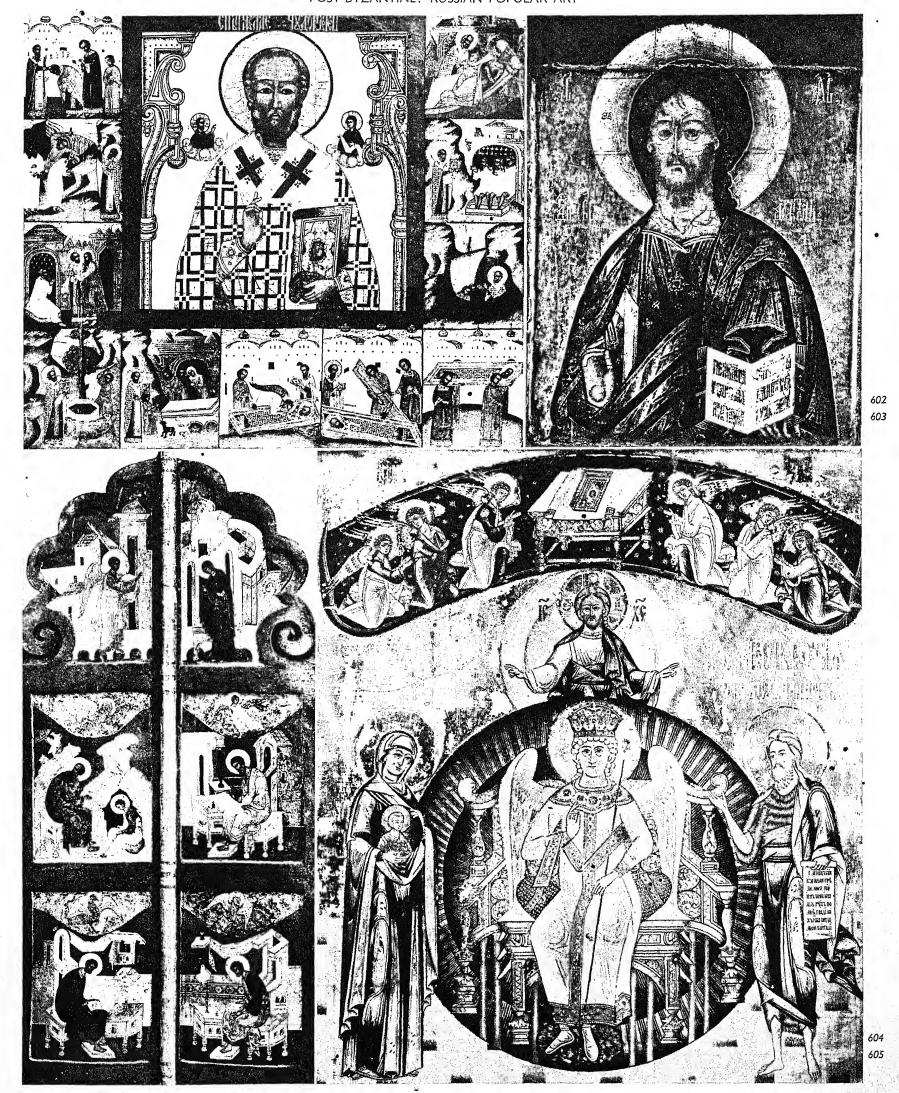


586/ Kahreh Djami, the former church of the monastery of Chora in Constantinople. Now a mosque. In the narthex a cycle of mosaics dating from 1310-1320 has been discovered under the whitewash. These mosaics testify to the pathetic and picturesque manner which had such an influence on Italian art of the Trecento. 587/ Istanbul, Mosque of the Sultan Achmed, a variant on the theme of Sancta Sophia. Shortly after 1600. 588/ Lamboussa, Cyprus. Panagia Angeloktistos. An example of a Byzantine church under the Turkish occupation. 589/ Detail of wooden mimbar (pulpit) in the mosque of Sultan Achmed, Istanbul. 590/The mosque of Sultan built by Sunan at Istanbul on the model of Sancta Sophia. 1557. 591-593/ Istanbul, mosque of Sultan Achmed, 1610. L. and r., details of the interior; centre, fragment of faïence wall-coverings.

[cf. maps 20 and 32]



From the XIth cent. onwards Russia was a province of Byzantine culture; after 1453 it became the centre of Orthodox religious art. 594/ Novgorod, Cathedral of Sancta Sophia. 1045-1052. A classic model of a five-cupola church. 595/ Moscow, the Kremlin. Cathedral of the Assumption (Ouspienski Sobor). Built by the Bolognese Aristotile Fioravente on the model of the XIIth cent. Cathedral of Vladimir. Note in the background the huge iconostasis (tiered screen with icons dividing the sanctuary from the nave). 596/ Romano-Borissogliebsk, Cathedral of the Resurrection, 1652-1670. A typical five-cupola church from one of the Volga towns. 597/ The three angels visiting Abraham (theophany of the Trinity). Icon by Andrei Roubliev, ca. 1410. Sergiev Posad, near Moscow. 598/ The Baptism of Christ. School of Novgorod, XVth cent. Vatican Pinakothek. 599/ Detail from XIIth cent. icon of St. Nicholas, from the



monastery of Novodevici. Moscow, Historical Museum. 600/ Sts. Flos and Laur, patron saints of horses. XVIth cent. Private collection. 601/ The Donskaia, XIVth cent. icon. Moscow, Kremlin, Cathedral of the Annunciation. 602/ St. Nicholas Thaumaturgus, with scenes from his life. XVIIth cent. icon. Private collection. 603/ Christ the Almighty. XVIIth cent. icon after the celebrated original at Moscow. 604/ Royal doors from an iconostasis, with the Annunciation and the Evangelists. Private collection. 605/ The Uncreated Wisdom, with the Mother of God and St. John the Baptist. Above: the Throne of the Second Coming revered by the Heavenly Powers. Early XVIIIth cent. Deep spirituality combined with rhythmical line and colour are the hallmarks of Russian icons from the XIIth-XVIIth cents.

WANING

The spiritual life of the West in the XVth century is clearly marked. It is divided into two contrasting areas, namely Italy, and the rest (map 27). Italy has its 'Early Renaissance', the rest embodies 'the Waning of the Middle Ages'. The principal cultural focus above the Alps is the rising Burgundian State, in Italy it is the city of Florence.

The Burgundian State stretched from Mâcon and Abbeville to Alkmaar and Zwolle, and its principal city was Bruges. After Bruges came the ducal residency at Dijon, then Ghent, Tournai, the musical centre of Cambrai, Louvain, and Haarlem. Later came Brussels and finally, around 1500, Antwerp.

To the west of the Duchy of Burgundy, and indissolubly linked with it, lay France, licking her wounds after the Hundred Years War. Though diminished in importance since 1300 Paris, with her 200,000 inhabitants and the Sorborne, remained still the spiritual focus. After 1400 Bourges, residency of the Duc de Berry, became a centre, and later, under Louis XI who resided at Plessis-les-Tours, the city of Tours and its surroundings come into view. Of lesser importance were Rouen, Troyes, Avignon and Aix-en-Provence. Though still the first and most populated of the Christian nations, and the most fertile, too, in the things of the spirit, France no longer sets the tone in everything, not even after 1450 when the English disappeared from her territory and her exuberant style of 'Flamboyant' Gothic came into its own. France had to share the lead with Burgundy, and it is difficult to see whether the French or the Dutch elements get the best of it. What is, in fact, surprising in almost all the expressions of the spiritual world of the XVth century is the combination of traditional French Gothic - the product of an essentially courtly and chivalric feudalism - with the profound, pious and sober sense of reality of the Dutch townsman. A comparison between the map of the XVth century and that of the XIIIth (maps 27 and 24) shows at once that the centre of gravity has shifted towards the Netherlands. It is in the Netherlands that oases of peace are to be found in this violent and grotesque epoch. It is there that the Brethren of the Common Life can truly attempt the Imitation of Christ in silent simplicity. On the altar panels of the Flemish Primitives we 630-37 can see saints and donors depicted as peacefully enjoying each others company in the same alcoves, bathed in the soft sunlight of a summer afternoon, or in the same churches, or in the same landscapes. In the Netherlands, too, we hear that choral polyphony, skilful yet spontaneous, tender yet never weak, which was to conquer Venice and pave the way for Palestrina. It was with these three things - the 'Devotio Moderna', Van Eyck's new technique of panel painting in oils, and the new 'a-capella' style of singing - that the Netherlands for the first time played a decisive part in the cultural history of the West. Flemish painting spread from Bruges and Ghent to Spain, Portugal, Catalonia and Urbino, and in Florence itself the altarpiece by Hugo van der Goes for the Portinari was universally admired. For those whom we today call 'Primitives' were considered in their own time to be masters of technical craftsmanship. The numerous local German schools are without exception under the influence of Jan van Eyck and Roger van der Weyden.

In architecture, however, the XVth century offers decidely national variants: 620- Flamboyant, Mudéjar and later Isabella and Manuelino, Perpendicular, 629 Hanseatic Gothic, and German Hallenkirchen. Yet in another sense the whole late Gothic world from Lisbon to Finland makes an unmistakeable unity. We find the same compositions everywhere - popular, animated, pathetic, tender, clumsy. The same rich and gaudy costumes too, for even the saints are made to wear contemporary clothing or the costumes of the actors of the miracle plays. The same exuberant decorative elements are used for façades, gables, spires, monstrances, choir-stalls, fonts, pulpits, and screens - it is the insatiable desire for fantastic forms, for richness and gaudiness, and for quantity. The names of monasteries and diocesan towns now no longer predominate, but rather the names of rich merchant cities and of residencies built with money borrowed by kings, dukes, and even the Papal Curia itself, from the first great bankers.

But the map does not reflect the spiritual climate of the age, which has gained for the XVth century in northern Europe the just title of 'the Waning of the Middle Ages'. The Burgundian world remained outwardly Gothic and typically mediaeval. It was a long time, for instance, before our art critics discovered a drastically simplified concept of space, indeed an entirely original inventive style, which they have called 'late Gothic', under the patterns and decorative flourishes of the buildings of the XVth century. In fact there was a radical internal difference between the XVth century world north of the Alps and the world which 300 years before had given birth to early scholasticism, early Gothic, and the courtly love lyric. It was a disillusioned world, obsessed with the consciousness of its own decline. The years after 1300 saw the sad collapse of the ordered tension and equilibrium of the Christian world-picture at the zenith of the Middle Ages. After 1400 very few believed any more in the ideals of the knight or the mendican? friar, and they no longer dreamed of an angelic Pope or of a great Christian Emperor comparable to Charlemagne. No one was any longer contented with society, the Church, or himself. What was worse, men felt the grotesque hollowness of almost all existing institutions and conventions, and this over-intense reaction to life expressed itself in exasperated violence or in tortuous sophistication. Nothing is therefore so striking as to find amidst the protests and absurdities, feudal finery and low farce, fashionable religiosity and ecclesiastical moneymaking, such ecstatic attentiveness, such still absorption and deep peace as is testified to by the writing of the Brethren of the Common Life and in the panels of the Primitives. The best way to understand the XVth century is to examine its ecclesiastical life. We find there a deep unrest, sometimes developing into revolt, as in the case of John Hus in Bohemia. Time and again it is obvious that the two poles of mediaeval society, Pope and Emperor, are no longer a stabilizing force. The Councils of Constance and Basel put their own authority above that of the Pope, and the Emperor became no more than a prince among other princes often more powerful than himself. 'Christendom', that sublime illusion, had ceased to exist, and became divided into separate nations each trying to get rich at the expense of the others: France against Burgundy, England against France. There was indeed panic when collective security became endangered after 1450, and when the Grand Duke of Moscow denied Novgorod to the Hanse, when the Turks attacked the Venetian possessions in the Levant and suddenly appeared at the gates of Adrianople, and when in 1453 the Sultan entered Sancta Sophia on horseback. But neither Pope nor 586-93 Emperor could mobilize Christendom against the Crescent. The Byzantine empire had subsisted for a thousand years but now it disappeared, and the Christian populations of the Balkaus sank to the level of helots. In this crumbling Christendom the prestige of the Papacy also declined. The Curia got no better, especially after the Western Schism; it remained much too preoccupied with temporal affairs, and became one of the best clients of the Florentine banking-houses and thus proved to be a factor in the rise of capitalist. economy. What if the humanists, who lived by their pens, honoured the learning and munificence of the Popes? And what if Platina, the first librarian of the Vatican, is depicted kneeling before Sixtus IV in the fresco of Melozzo da Forlì? The fact is that the repute of the Curia sank lower and lower, to reach its nadir in the scandalous reign of Alexander VI.

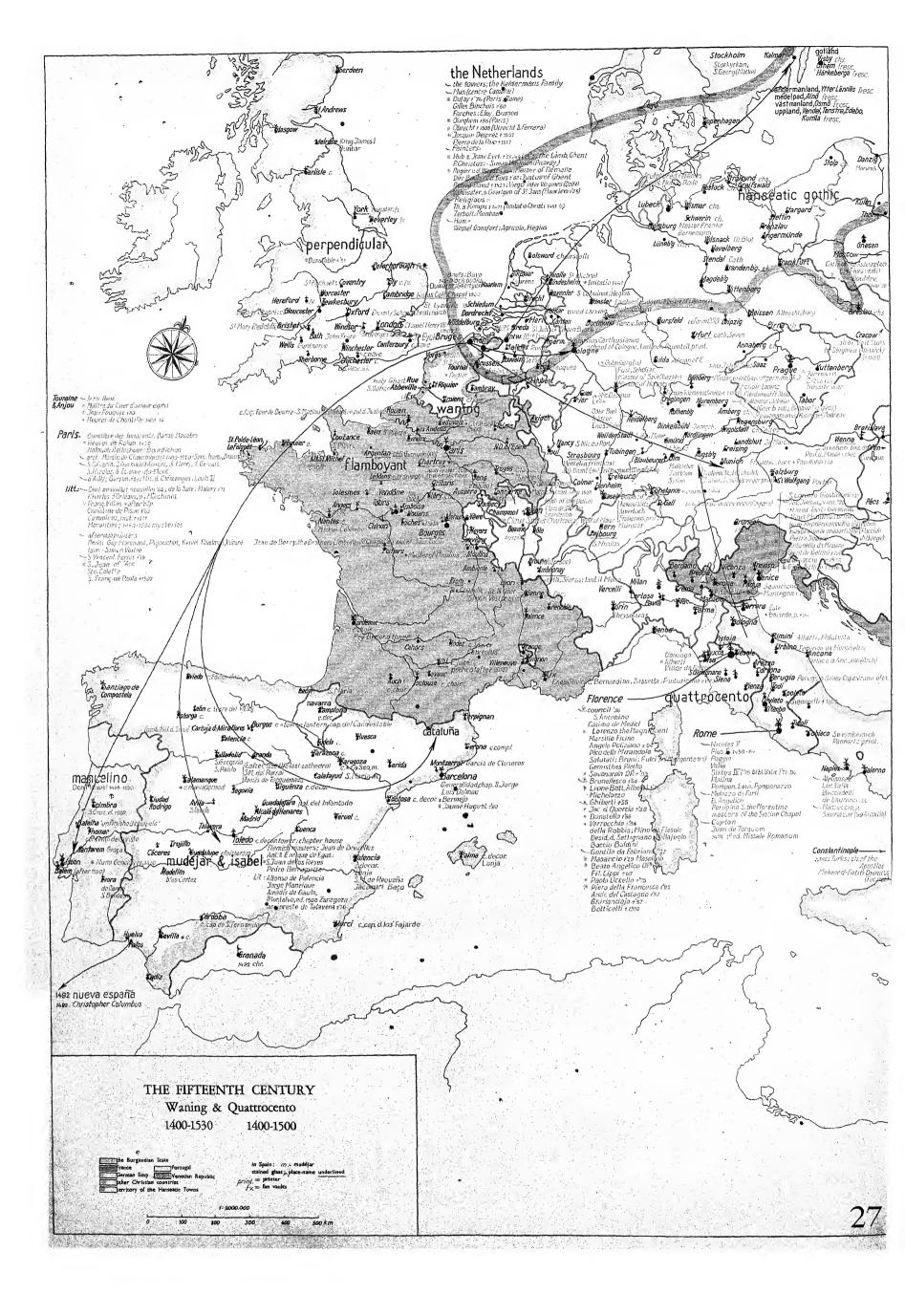
The Church still did everything in the West, and there was as yet nothing to take her place. Her representatives might disgrace her, but she herself was still beloved. Though in one aspect she might be a monster, she was still the Ark of Salvation. She was much too rich, but people still gave her offerings. People mocked the mendicant orders, but saw the Friars Minor reform themselves as Observants, and the German and Netherlands Benedictines form the congregation of Bursfeld. People continued to maintain and decorate good monasteries, and sometimes, as in the case of the Charterhouse at Dijon and the Certosa at Pavia, the richest shrines were given to the strictest order. Parents still gave their children to the monasteries, with sorrow and with pride. When there arose such great penitential preachers as Bernard of Siena, Vincent Ferrer, and John of Capestrano, then men thronged to hear them, listened attentively, and did penance. Florence had seen the burning of Savonarola but she had never forgotten him.

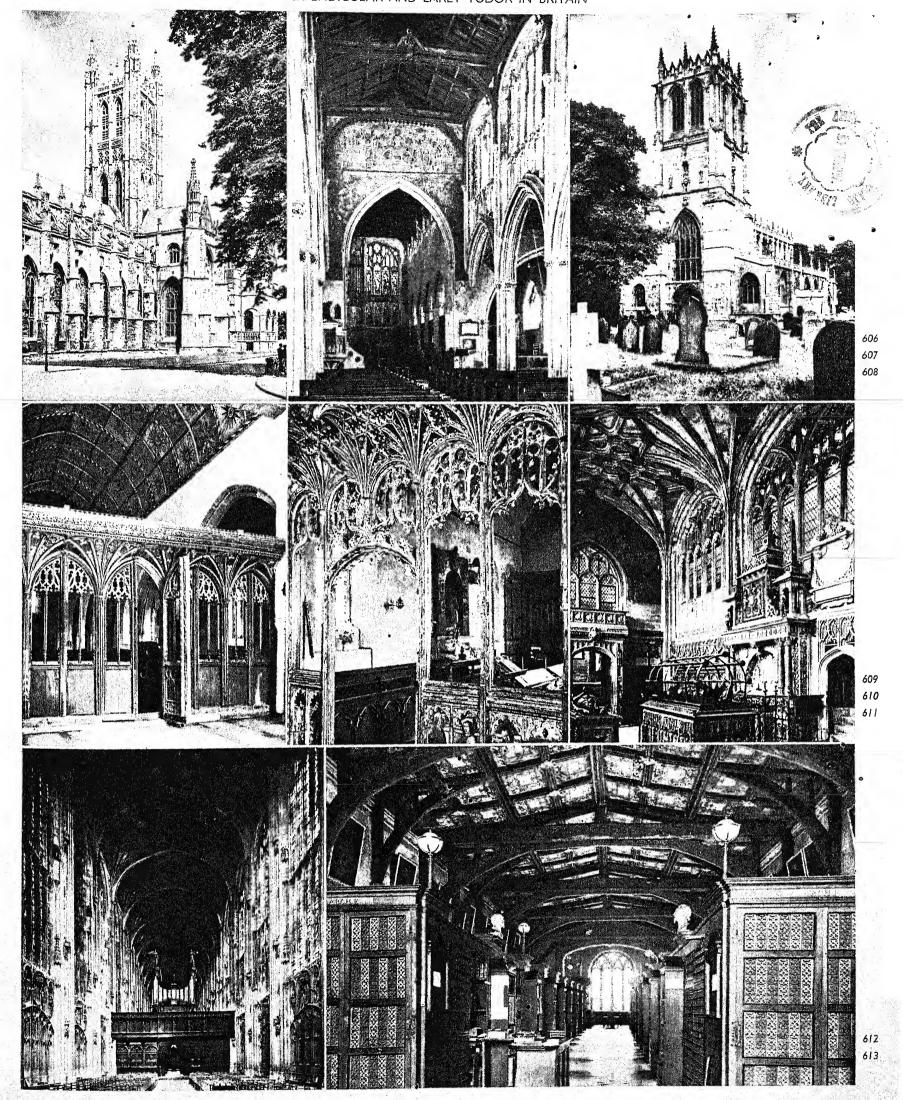
Monstrous scandals, peaceful devotion and solitary saints mark the religious life of the XVth century. Christianity has received the gift of tears, for it is the 629 period of Pietàs and of the Man of Sorrows. Yet side by side with that we have the allegories, either too ingenious or too commonplace, the popular mystery plays, and the grotesque costumes. The sciences show too the same uncertainty and emptiness. There are no great theologians any more, for theology is also on the wane. Scholasticism, even under such great masters as d'Ailly and Gerson, is Ockkamist, in other words suffering also from doubt. Faith and Reason have become separated and the rational structure of belief has collapsed. There is only one great thinker, the unique Cardinal Nicholas of Cues, or Cusanus, in philosophy an audacious Platonist, but with the simple faith

The great literature of the period is even less. All that is read today are the verses of the vagabond Villon or of Charles of Orleans, perhaps something of Christine de Pisan, and the historian de Commines, and Brandt's Ship of Fools of 1494. But the real book of this Waning of the Middle Ages is the Imitation of Christ. Next to the Bible, no book has been so much translated and so widely spread. It evokes a definite world, that of the Netherlandish Brethren of the Common Life – a world without ambition or wit and without any inclination to mysticism or vigorous asceticism. But it preaches the micdle way of surrender to God's Will, and has brought millions to meditation and to prayer.

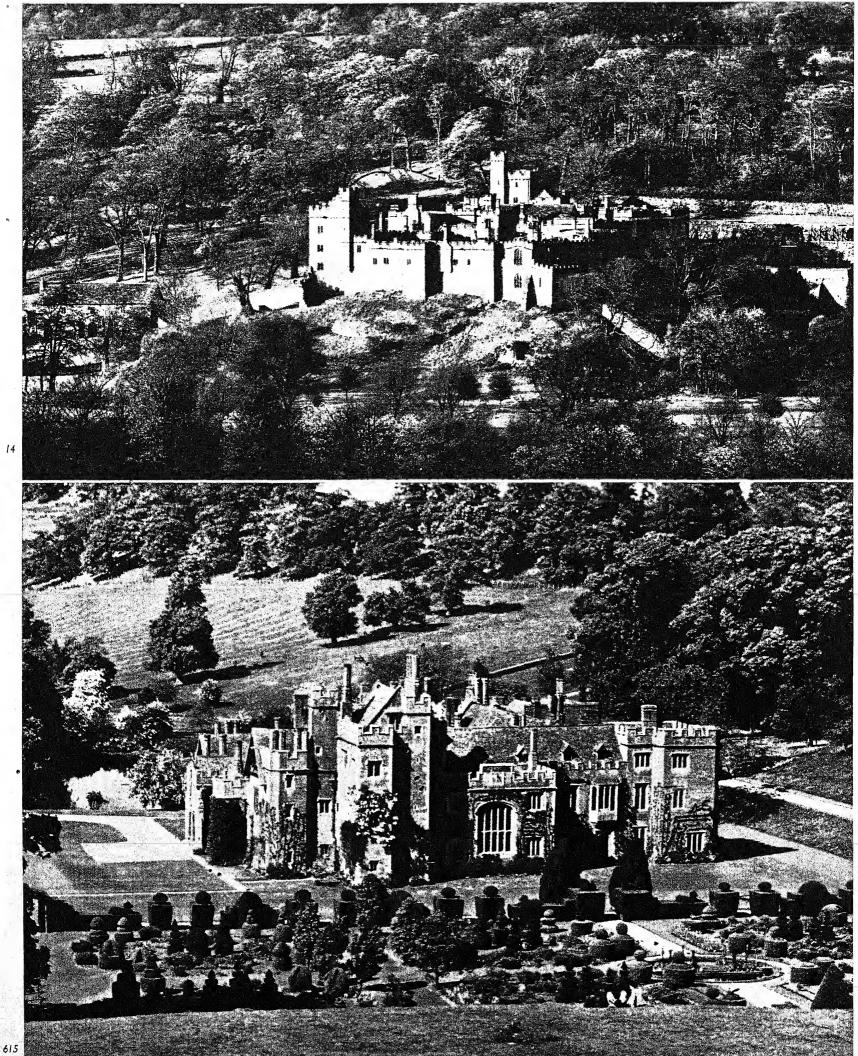
The art of the Waning Middle Ages has been described as the 'baroque phase' of Gothic. Baroque or not, it is neither heroic nor sensuously dynamic, 620 but rather a series of eloborate variations on the old Gothic themes. In architecture France, England and Germany are pre-eminent. In Flamboyant







606/ Canterbury cathedral, from SW.-nave 1378-1411; lantern 1495-1503. (Courtesy to Atlantis-Verlag, Zürich, publisher of,, Englische Kathedralen", by M. Hürlimann.) The next four views give an idea of the average 15th cent., parish church. 607/ Salisbury (Wilts.), nave late Perp., Spire 16th cent. XVIth cent. 608/ Tickhill (South Yorks.), church 15th cent., tower Perp. 1480-1500. 609/ Stoke-by-Hartland (Devon.), roodscreen from East, about 1450; church 14th cent. 610/ Bramfield (Suffolk), roodscreen from SW., showing Coke monument in chansel beyond (by Nich. Stone, 1586-1647). 611/ Warwick, St. Mary's, Lady Chapel, 1439-60-75, with tomb of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick (with hearse) and tombs of Ambrose and Robert Dudley. (607-611 Courtesy to photographer Mr. Edwin Smith and to Thames & Hudson Ltd., London, publishers of "English Parish Churches", 42/-.) 612/ Cambridge, King's College Chapel, nave. Founded, with the College, by Henry VI, 1440; famous for its fan vaults and magnificent windows. (612 Picture Post Library). 613/ Oxford, Bodleian. Duke Humphrey's Library, founded 1445-1488, rebuilt 1597.



614/ Haddon Hall, Rowsley (Derbyshire), a perfectly preserved manor house with buildings ranging from 1 170 to 1567 within a XIIth-century enclosing wall, on a wooded hillside. 615/Compton Wynyates, Banbury (Warwickshire). A typical early Tudor Home, rebuilt by William Compton, under Henry VIII, turreted brick walls, large glass windows. The moat filled in; the house now set in an old English garden. (614-615 Courtesy to Country Life Ltd., London, publisher of, English Country Houses open to the public".) [cf. map 27]

Gothic the treatment of space becomes simplified, but of nament becomes more complicated, bending and twisting like tongues of fire - hence the name 'Flamboyant'. The French achievement in openwork vaulting and elaborately figured balustrades could not be equalled in Italy. It is therefore not surprising that this same type of sculptural craftsmanship remained even after 1500, and that to this period belong some of its finest works. In the mausoleum 626 church of Brou, in the transepts and gables of Sens, Troyes and Beauvais, 622 and in the Spanish cathedrals of Seville, Salamanca, and Segovia, Gothic bids its last farewell.

English Perpendicular, which began after 1350, changes the church flave 624 625 into a cage of glass with perpendicular trelliswork and with fan-vaults dovetailing into one another. The German 'Hallenkirche', or church with equal 716 naves, is a vast hall with thin pillars supporting an immense network of vaulting spread over three or five naves. In these vast hangars the one dominating feature are the colossal wing-shaped altarpieces with their pannelling crowded with bustling but nonetheless impressive figures. In the Netherlands after 1400 there comes a reaction to the visionary style of the XIVth century. In the Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry, the work of the brothers Van Limburg, we see at once the perfect rendering of the autumnal atmosphere of a forest, with the silhouette of the city of Bourges towering up above the hills on the 631 skyline. Then come the altarpieces of Jan van Eyck, where a thousand different things combine together in rich colourful reality, and a wonderful light binds all into a unified composition. Van Eyck dares everything - raindrops on flowers, the hairs of fur, the sheen of copper, or light peeping through reeds. His colours are mixed in oil and no longer in egg-white, as in the matt tempera technique of the ancients and the Italians, but his compositions still follow the old Gothic pattern. The increase or decrease of size has no effect on them, and though sometimes it seems that the landscape or interior appear to have been painted around them, the stiff figures do not disturb the mood. It is no wonder that this craftsmanship held spellbound contemporaries who could never equal their master. After Van Eyck altarpieces were filled with minute details painted in the new technique and seeking to achieve the new effects. Van Eyck's portraits, such as that of the Arnolfini, are among the most realistic and the most beautiful ever painted. If we compare his great compositions, like the Altar of the Lamb and the enthroned Virgins surrounded by founders, with the work of the Italians, then we can see at once that his works are really visualized rather than scientifically arranged and calculated. What marks him out, together with all the great 'Primitives' who followed him, is intimacy, quiet, inner contemplation, and peace - a peace that passes all understanding. They share with the southern masters richness, expressiveness, and good observation. But all the brocade, curls and jewels do not matter. The figures themselves remain unearthly, their faces filled with solicitude for holiness of soul, and the supra-real elements shine forth as pious symbols testifying to the hidden richness and significance of all creation. (It is interesting to compare the work of Van Eyck with that of his exact contemporary Andrew Roublev, the icon painter at the monastery of the Trinity near 597 Moscow, the young man who, in 1410, painted the purely abstract Trinity, a

Jan van Eyck brought to his work a captivating attentiveness and a golden 637 light; the compositions of Roger van der Weyden have a nobility and a sweep-

much greater achievement, but accomplished with so much simpler means.)

ing pathos. It is no wonder that we find everywhere work modelled on theirs. The map shows the many centres where the 'Primitives' came to be grouped. Let us mention but a few highlights: there are the Pietà of Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, the Master of Moulins, the Crowning of the Virgin of Enguerrand 635 Charonton, the Master of the Cuer d'amours espris, the Heures de Chantilly, 634-5 the portraits of Jean Fouquet, the astonishing collection of portraits from the Portugal of Henry the Navigator to be found on the altarpiece of Nuño Gonçalves at Lisbon, and the strikingly tensed figures of Jaume Huguet at 618 Barcelona. In Germany local schools sprang up around individual masters, but they were of short duration and did not pass on a tradition. Though there is something moving and charming in their work, much of it is amateurish and trifling. Such a figure as the Swiss, Conrad Witz, is the Domanier Rousseau of the Waning Middle Ages. The predominant figures are Schongauer, and around 1500 the young Dürer, whose Apocalypse, Great and Lesser 733-5 Passion, and Life of the Virgin, form a fine farewell to the Waning Middle Ages and, alas, to the German genius in the world of art for a long time

Early Renaissance Italy, the other cultural area of the XVth century, marks a striking contrast to the Waning Middle Ages. Here the spiritual climate is ungothic and optimistic, especially in Florence, the city that was the centre of it all. It is certainly true that Waning and Quattrocento were not completely separate worlds, especially in the arts. At a first glance, and especially when we compare the two together with the simple and majestic monuments of 646-55 before 1500, both areas have the same taste for richness, the forms are equally light and playful, and there is the same tendency to prolixity. The social backgrounds, too, are more similar than we might think. In Florence, as in Bruges or Nuremberg, the patrons of the arts were not only the rulers and the nobility, but primarily the patricians (i.e. the rich merchants), the humanists, and even the artists themselves. What gave the artist in Italy his privileged position was more often his theoretical knowledge than his practical proficiency. Outside the realms of the plastic arts and of neo-Latin literature, the two areas were as one. They still both belonged to the old undivided Christendom. What kept them apart was the growing national consciousness of the Italians and the new enterprises that went with it, enterprises which though startling were more often than not never brought to fruition. In everything else were they united, especially in their concern for the community and for the Church.

At the extreme end of the XVth century a restless and crumbling mediaeval Christianity suddenly lost even the security of her limited horizon. The Spaniards discovered the New World, and the Portuguese the coasts of Africa and the road to the Indies (map 34); Copernicus, canon of Frauenburg in faraway Ermland, found that our earth is not the centre, materially speaking, of the cosmos. The old world-picture thus suddenly received another dimension and other proportions.

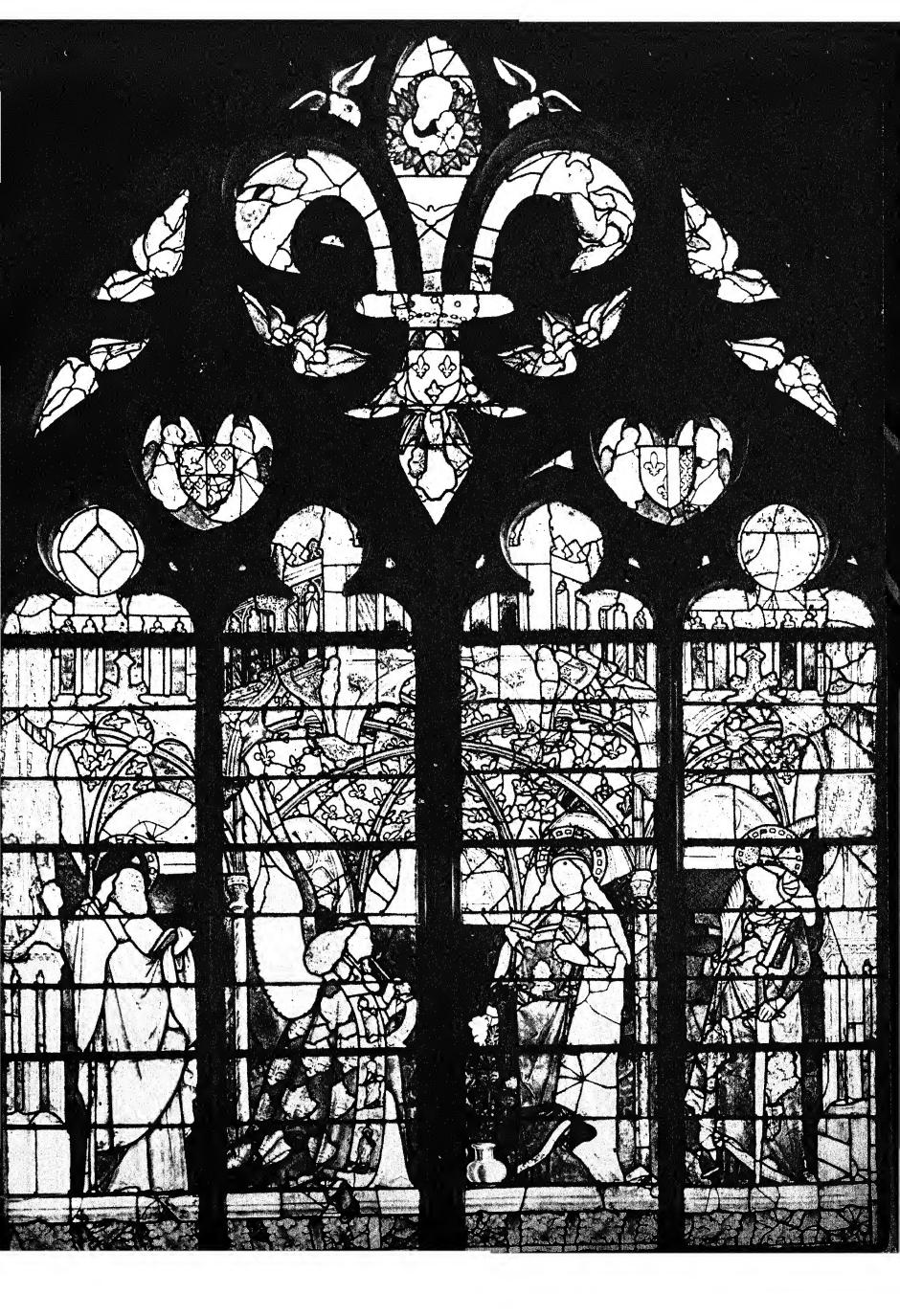


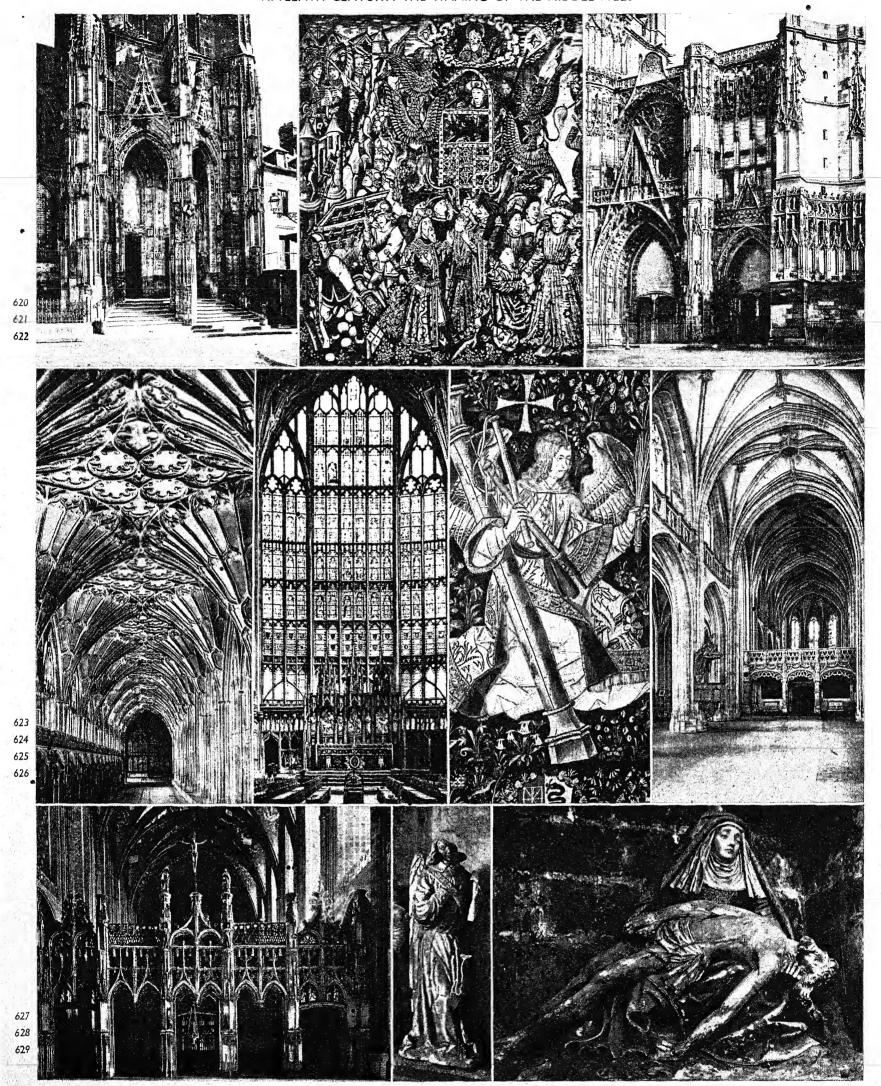


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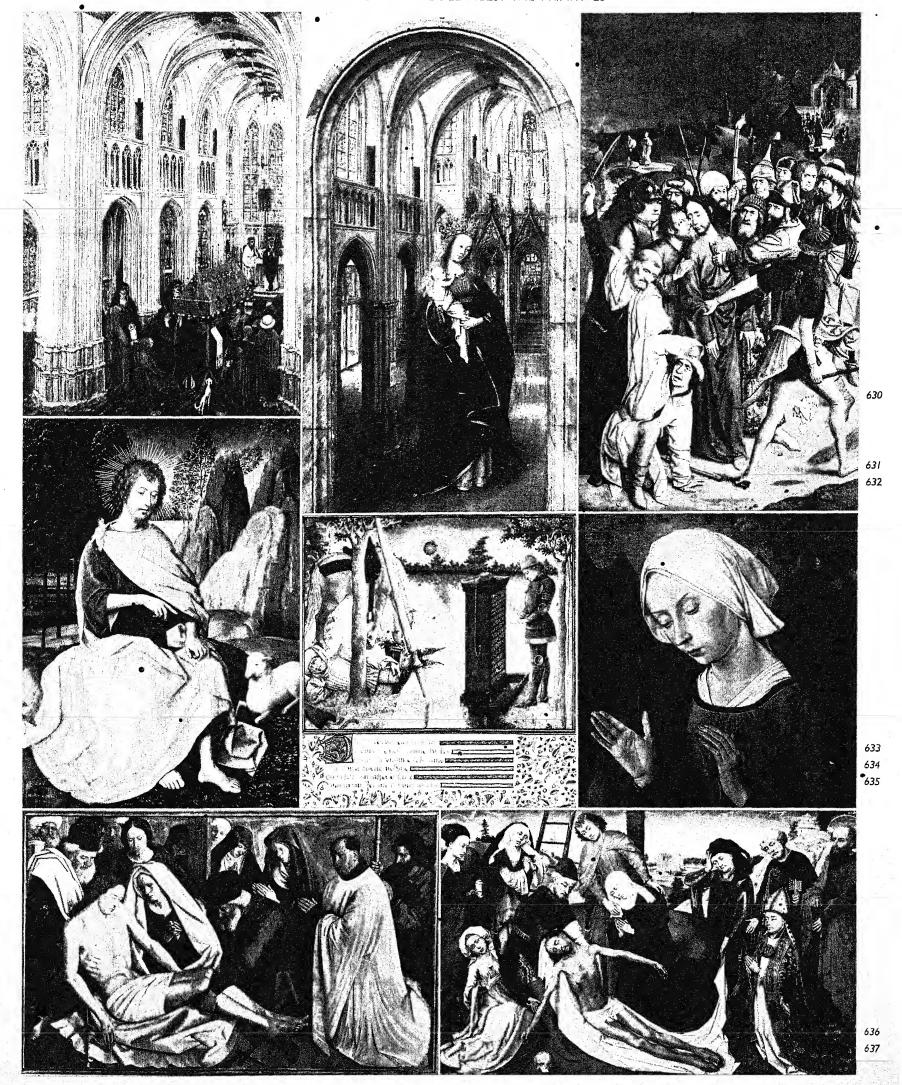
616/ The Birth of our Lady, by the Master of the Life of Our Lady. Cologne, 1470. Munich, Old Pinakothek. 617/ La Chaise-Dieu. Fragment of a Dance of Death: men of all ranks and conditions are led away by their own skeletons. Typical motif of the Waning of the Middle Ages. Overleaf: 618/ The Veneration of St. Vincent, patron of Lisbon. The saint is surrounded by the royal family (Henry the Navigator, Alfonso V, and the young John II) and the court and clergy of the Cathedral of St. Vincent. Centrepiece of an altar, by Nuño, Gonçalves, [cf. maps 24-27] ca. 1460. Lisbon, Museo de Arte Antiguo.







Preceding page: 619/ Window of Jacques Coeur in the Cathedral of Bourges, by Henri Mellein. 1448-1450. 620/ Argentan (Orne), St-Germain. Side portico, flamboyant, XVth cent. 621/ Rome, Palazzo Doria: fragment of tapestry with the Ascension of Alexander. All the figures are in contemporary court dress. French, 1459. 622/ Troyes, west front of the Cathedral. After 1506, by Martin de Chambiges, the architect of the transepts of Sens and Beauvais. Flamboyant. 623/ Gloucester, Cathedral. Cloisters with fan-vaulting, 1331-1412. 624/ Gloucester, Cathedral, east window. 1377; Perpendicular. 625/ Angers, Bishop's Palace. Fragment of tapestry: angel with instruments of the Passion. 626/ Brou (Bourg-en-Bresse). Mausoleum of Philibert le Beau and Margaret of Austria, 1513-1532. Nave and jubé. 627/ Albi, Cathedral, jubé. 1500, Flamboyant. 628/ Flavigny, church. Angel, XVth cent. 629/ Carcassonne, Cathedral of St-Nazaire. Pietä, XVth cent. 629/ Carcassonne, Cathedral of St-Nazaire. Pietä, XVth cent.



630/ Hubert van Eyck(?), Mass of the Dead. Book of Hours of Turin (destroyed by fire 1904), 1414-1417. Note the catafalque in the choir, the wearing of hats in church, and the dog. 631/ Our Lady in the Heavenly Jerusalem. Jan van Eyck. Berlin. 632/ The Arrest of Jesus. Dirc Bouts. Munich, Pinakothek. 633/ Memlinc, John the Baptist in the Wilderness. Munich, Old Pinakothek. 634/ Coeur and Désir at sunrise, by the magic fountain. Miniature from the book of Duc René d'Anjou, 'Le Cuer d'amours espris', MS. 2597, Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. 1470-1480. 635/ Detail from Incarnation. Master of Moulins. 1470. 636/ Nouans (Indre-et-Loire), church. Pietà. Ascribed to Fouquet or his circle. 1470. 637/ Pietà. School of Rogier van der Weyden. 1440-1460. The Hague, Mauritshuis.



III . NATIONAL CIVILIZATIONS AND THEIR EXPANSION

THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

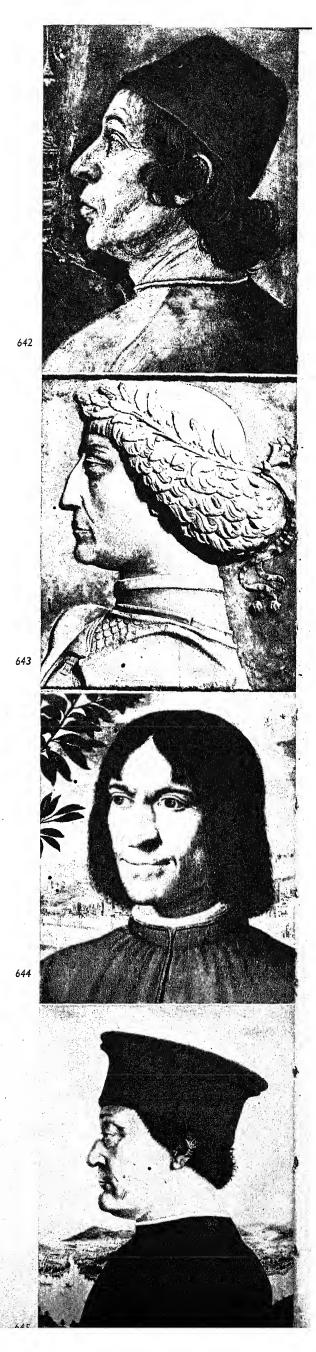
UATTROCENTO. The world of the Waning Middle Ages is like a blood-red and gold sunset, while that of the Italian Renaissance, its contemporary, is more like a sunny morning. The morning sun shone strongest in Florence, and next to Florence, on the city state of Venice and the small principalities of Mantua, Ferrara, Urbino and Milan. There if anywhere in the XVth century was the consciousness, not of a void left by the conclusion of an epoch, but of the passing of something absurd and the beginning of something better. There is a renewed zest for life. It was there that the new leading spirits broke with the traditional forms of thought which in their eyes had become meaningless. It was there that within a short time that world of wonderful new forms arose, and with them that new, that immediate and careful intuition of concrete reality. Such is the Italian XVth century, the Quattrocento, or as we call it, the 'Early Renaissance'.

Renaissance, the French translation of Rinascimento, is a generally accepted term which covers primarily a certain type of art. But it can also refer to a specifically Italian manner to which almost all West European writers and artists of the XVIth century paid homage, and which in Italy itself after 1430 formed a sharp contrast with the manner of the Waning Middle Ages, i.e. with Late Gothic and the Primitives. Finally, the term also refers to a whole way of life and a type of man.

The Renaissance is in fact one of the decisive phases in the history of our civilization. The word itself is first used by the painter Vasari in his Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architetti of 1550, a book containing the biographies of the Italian artists from Giotto to Michelangelo, i.e. from 1330 to 1547. By Rinascimento or Rinascita he meant the to him miraculous rebirth of arts and letters in his fatherland, and above all, the reawakening of those unsurpassable standards of beauty of classical antiquity which had for centuries been neglected by ignorant barbarians and which had now been reformulated and brought into practice once more by a few great geniuses in Italy. What he wanted to describe, therefore, was not a new start but a revival: a lost thread had been picked up again in Italy. Between Antiquity and the Florence of the Quattrocento there lay an abyss of barbarism. In that interval Italy had played but a secondary rôle, and by 1461 that interval had been referred to by the expression medio tempestas, the 'middle time'. The Italians afterwards succeeded in imposing on the world this amazingly contemptuous term, and so the French have their moyen age, the Germans their Mittelalter, and we our Middle Ages. It was Vasari, too, who used the expression gotico for the artistic activity of this 'middle time', by which he meant simply 'barbaric'.

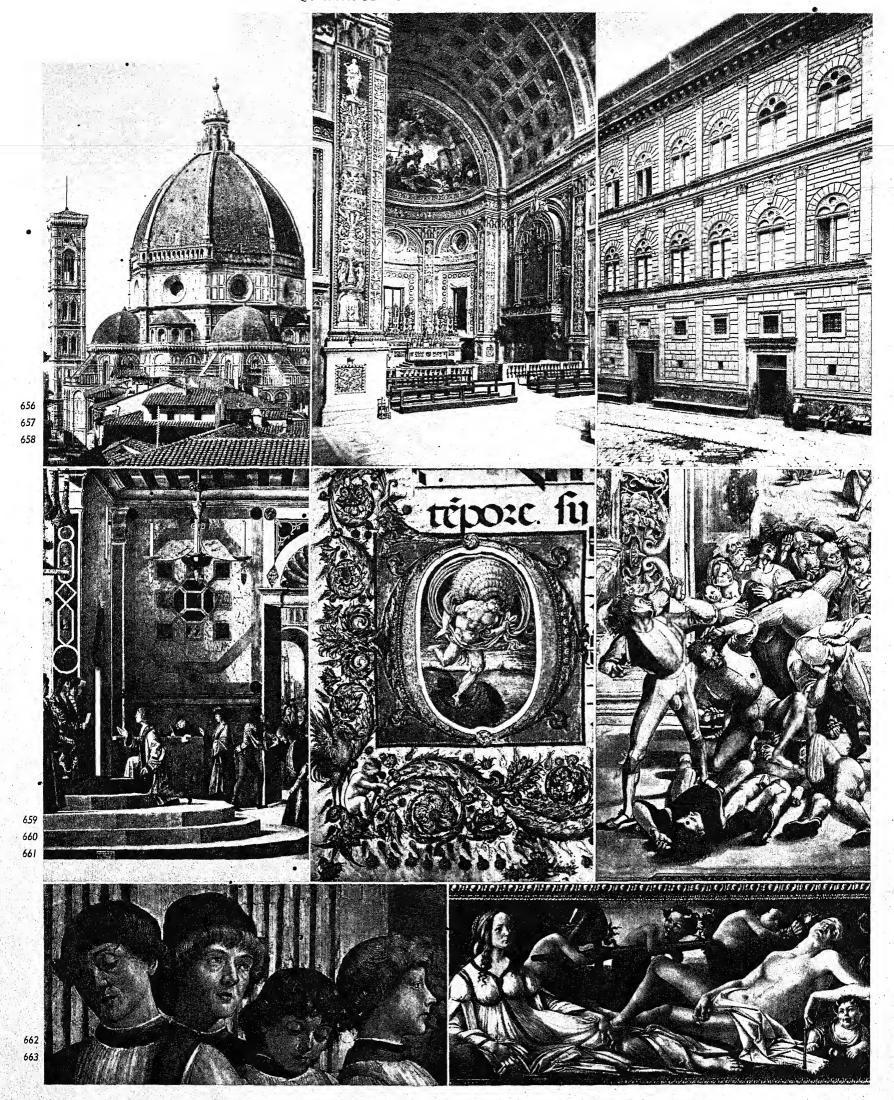
From the distance of four and a half centuries we can easily see that the relics of Antiquity which were known at that time did not present a true picture of ancient civilization. What, in fact, did they know of it? Of Roman authors they certainly knew as much in 1450 as we know today. They also knew many Greek authors, especially Plato and the tragedians, and the rediscovery of Plato led to a general enthusiasm for this poet of the philosophers, and to the foundation in Florence of Marsilio Ficino's Platonic Academy.

Leading figures from the Trecento and Quattrocento. 638/ Dante (from Raphael's Disputà). 639/ Petrarch, by Andrea del Castagno. Florence, Sta. Apollonia. 640/ Boccaccio, ibid. 641/ Leone Battista Alberti. 642/ Marsilio Ficino, from Ghirlandajo's fresco in Sta. Maria Novella. 643/ Sigismondo Malatesta. Rimini, S. Francesco. 644/ Lorenzo de' Medici, by Vasari. 645/ Federigo de Montefeltre, duke of Urbino, by Piero della Francesca. [cf. maps 25 and 27]





646/ St. James before his judges; by Mantegna. Padua, Eremitani. 1453-1459. 647/ Adam and Eve driven from Paradise; by Masaccio. Florence, Carmine. 1425. 648/ Detail from the Crucifixion, in the refectory of St. Mark's, Florence; by Fra Angelico, after 1430. 649/ St. Eustace and the stag; by Pisanello. London, National Gallery. 650/ The Queen of Sheba. Fresco in the choir of S. Francesco, Arezzo; by Piero della Francesca, 1452-1466. 651/ Bronze doors of the Baptistery at Florence; by Lorenzo Ghiberti. 1425-1452. 652/ Barso d'Este and his court, by Cossa(?). Fresco in Palazzo Schifanoja, Ferrara. 1470-1480. 653/ David; by Donatello. After 1440. 654/ Detail from the bronze door of the old St. Peter's. Rome, 1439-1445. 655/ Crowning of Our Lady; by Raphael. 1503. Vatican Pinakothek.



656/ Florence, Cathedral of Sta. Maria del Fiore. Cupola by Brunelleschi, 1420-1434. L., the campanile by Giotto, Trecento. 657/ Mantua, S. Andrea; by Leone Battista Alberti, 1470-1482. 658/ Florence, Palazzo Rucellai; by Alberti, 1446-1451. 659/ Reception of the English Embassy; by Carpaccio. Detail from the Legend of St. Ursula. Venice, the Academy. 660/ Eolus, God of the Winds. Miniature by Liberale da Verona in an antiphonary in Siena, Cathedral. 661/ Detail from a fresco of Antichrist, in the 'Finimondo' cycle; by Luca Signorelli. Completed 1505. Orvieto, Cathedral. 662/ Detail from the Funeral of Santa Fina. Fresco in the Collegiata of San Gimignano, by Ghirlandajo, 1475. 663/ Mars and Venus; by Botticelli. London, National Gallery. Overleaf: 664/ Departure of Enea Silvio Piccolomini and Capranica for the Council of Basel; by Pinturicchio, 1503-1507. Siena, Cathedral Library.





665/ Centrepiece of the Last Judgement; by Michelangelo. Rear wall of Sistine Chapel, 1534-1541 Christ returns seated on the clouds; r., the Virgin Mary; below, Sts. Laurence and Bartholomew. 666/ Moses; Michelangelo's masterpiece, 1506. Detail from unfinished tomb of Pope Julius II. Rome, St. Peter-in-Chains. 667/ Sts. Paul and Barnabas refuse the sacrifices offered by the people of Lystra (cf. Acts 14, 8-20). Tapestry woven at Brussels to a design of Raphael, 1516-1519. Rome, Vatican Pinakothek.

[cf. maps 27-31]

They knew also of a number of Roman copies of Hellenistic and Hellenic sculptures, and of a relatively small amount of Roman remains, mostly from the Imperial epoch and within the City of Rome itself, and many examples of the minor arts such as coins, vases, cameos and glass-work. But the authentic Greek art of Athens, the Sicilian temples, Greek minor art and all the art of the archaic period, lay still beyond the ken of the Renaissance masters. It is also noticeable that the old works of art were used more as a starting point than as something to be copied with slavish enthusiasm. On the contrary, the leading spirits of the Renaissance created with typically Italian genius something which linked the whole mediaeval heritage with a reinterpretation of the scanty relics of Antiquity. They created something entirely original and new that had to be judged on its own terms, and that in certain respects surpassed everything that had gone before.

It may not be amiss to preface a discussion of the Renaissance with some reference to the change in taste. The most valuable and the most striking elements of this Italian, indeed European, movement are the works of art. The scholarly writings of the period are only read today by specialists, and the poetry, even after 1550, by very few. But it is the beautiful and harmonious buildings, the murals, sculptures, coinage, tapestries, vases and furniture that today attract and fascinate everyone who knows of them. And the age-long overestimation of all Italian art, which has made the land of the Renaissance a veritable pleasure-ground of the arts where even the ordinary tourist can do nothing else but gaze at works of art, has only begun to diminish in recent years.

But this 'change of taste' points as always to a deeper change, namely the disappearance of the mediaeval concept of reality and the consequent disintegration of that mediaeval world-picture which was derived from Faith and from a symbolical vision of creation. The inimitable and stimulating works of art of the Renaissance express a world picture which, however pious its intentions might be as regards its sacred images, seems to us to be less authentic, more theatrical, more profane, more human, free and earthly, and more 'corporal' than that of the Middle Ages. Behind these works of art there lay a feeling for life that was a new and liberating experience, a new attitude towards all reality and towards man as the centre of the universe, and a union of art and science that was both critical and inquisitive. These feelings, analyses and discoveries were expressed in exquisite Ciceronian Latin and printed in that clear type based on the old Roman lettering which from now on took the place of Gothic lettering in Italy (a specimen of the new lettering is to be seen, no. 650). The writers and scholars of the Renaissance were the first to see their books printed and brought on to the scholarly market. Certain of the printer-publishers, like Aldus Manutius in Venice and Frobenius in Basel, themselves belonged to the scholarly circle. All of these together, laymen almost without exception, formed a sort of international guild of idealistic researchers, poets and aesthetes, who, though they may have been divided in some things, were united in their distaste for the former scholastic and ecclesiastical science. They were mostly philologists and scholars and were called 'humanists'.

What strikes us in their writings is not so much the content as the perfection of their classical Latin. Just as in Late Antiquity, the whole culture tended to become identified with 'letters', or bonae literae. Exaggerated overestimation of words and style was linked with blind admiration for Ciceronian Latin, and blind prejudice against the much more living Christian Latin. The human-

ists of the Quattrocento have not left us any great literary masterpieces, for *The Praise of Folly* and More's *Utopia* both belong to the period after 1500. On the other hand no one doubts the greatness of the architecture and figurative art of the Renaissance. All the same, it is much more than merely an aesthetic culture. The writers, thinkers, rulers and artists of the Renaissance have in fact determined the shape of our modern Western world, so far, that is, as the élite were concerned, for the Renaissance was never a popular movement.

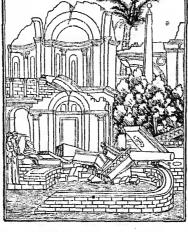
What was the Renaissance? Some people consider it as 'the liberation of individual creativity from the bondage of the old ecclesiastical world picture'. For others it is 'the re-animation of the ideas, forms and conceptions of life of the Ancients'. For others it is primarily a formal return to the great, the monumental and the heroic, after the extravagant exhibitionism and pietistic and frivolous niceties of the Waning Middle Ages. Others concentrate on the political emancipation of states like Venice and France, and the rise of a purely realist and cynical politics which men have called 'Machiavellian', after the Florentine Niccolò Machiavelli, whose book Il Principe was first written in 1513. (It is to Machiavelli that we owe the term ratio status, reason of state.) Yet others think of the purely natural and rational Civil and Constitutional Law whose formulation at this period, especially after 1500, was most striking.

All these views are right. The period of the Renaissance is a veritable fountain of new ideas. Whoever looks at the Renaissance as a whole can only describe its essence by turning directly to what is the root of every form of civilization—in other words, to its world picture. It cannot be said, on the whole, that in the XVth century this was less Christian. But in practice the Renaissance extolled Antiquity at the expense of Revelation. The Renaissance vision of reality was materialist and rationalist, tempered by the traditional elements of belief and morality. It marks a sort of secularization and 'de-symbolization' of the world picture inherited from the Middle Ages.

It is only natural that the Renaissance created a dominating cultural form out of this blind admiration for the texts and monuments of 'the Ancients'. This respect for the Ancients became so great that the custom developed of substantiating everything that was written with citations from the Ancients as well as with citations from Holy Writ (which was now being treated critically for the first time). It was not that reason had failed. On the contrary, men were rationally convinced that the norms of the Ancients were the only exact and reasonable ones. They found that what the Ancient's had built, written and designed was true, normal, immediately understandable, humane, and, in a word, ideal. First at Venice and then later all over the West, the Gothic letter was replaced by the antiqua, based on the Roman capitals and Carolingian minuscule, because it was clearer and more beautiful. They took over the 'five orders' - Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, composite and Tuscan - for their columns, capitals and architraves because they found them well-proportioned, whereas they found the slender shafts of the Gothic piers proportionless and ugly. They did not realize that the mediaeval artists had consciously and deliberately refrained from a close imitation of the natural, and they found their work clumsy. They would do better.

The importance given to reality did not in itself conflict with Faith, for XIIIth century scholasticism had already provided a philosophical basis for the valuation of all created things. Indeed most of the scholars and artists of the Renaissance wanted to be faithful sons of the Church, and they saw this renewal of humanity, the nova humanitas, as something which involved





Prologus.

CINCIPIT EXPOSITIO BEATI HIERONYMI PRAESBYTERI IN PSALTERIVM. ET PRIMO PROLOGYS EIVSDEM.

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APIΣΤΟΤΈΛΟΥΣ ΗΘΙΚΩΝ ΕΥΔΗΜΙΩΝ. ΤΟ Ε

Π κὶ δὶ τυγχάρο μθρ πρότες ορ εἰρικότες ότη

δεί τρικότο κἰς εῖεθ μὰτην ὑπερολόν μικὸ

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τοῦς κὶς μι, τῶῦ το τὶ λαιμθρ ἐν παίστι γὸς

τοῦς κὶς μι, τῶῦ το τὶ λαιμθρ ἐν παίστι γὸς

τοῦς κὶς μι, τῶῦ το τὸ και απότι πρός ον κὶ πορ λί

και ἀλλων ἐξε τἰς στο οπότι πρός ον κὶ πορ λί

το πον ὁτὰ κόγρι ἐχρι ἐπετί με ικὰ κοίντοι

και πό ἐξε τὸ ρος τὰ μετο τήτιο κὶ μεταξ ὑΦα μθρ ἐναιτας

κοτρολο κῆς κὰ τῆς ἐκλε - μις, οὐοπό κα τὰ τὰν ὁς ὁς οῦν λόγο μ

ἔτι τὸ μθρ ἐνπείρο το πως κὶ λοθὸς μθρὸ, οὐολὸ με δι σα Φίσικε

και τὸ τὸ μθρ ἐνπείρο το πως κὶ λοθὸς μθρὸ, οὐολὸ με δι σα Φίσικε

και τὸ τὸ μθρὸ ἐνπείρο το πως κὶ λοθὸς μθρὸ, οὐολὸ με δι σα Φίσικε

και τὸ τὸς και τῶς ἐνπείρο το πως κὶ λοθὸς μθρὸ, οὐολὸ με δι σα Φίσικε

και το ποροί και το ποροί

668/ Leaf rom a German Biblia Pauperum', Nördlingen, 1471. These were some of the earliest types of popular picture-books. The principal events of the New Testament were shown in the centre of the page, accompanied by analogical scenes from the Old Testament, together with four texts from the prophets. Here, centre, the Crowning of Our Lady; 1.: Crowning of the Beloved, from the Song of Songs; r. St. John and an angel of the Apocalypse speaking about the Bride of the Lamb. 669/ Illustration from the 'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', published at Venice by Aldus Manutius, 1449. 670/ From an edition of St. Jerome, Venice, 1498. An example of antiqua type. 671/ Fragment from a page of Aristotle, Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1495-1498. An example of the new Greek type.



the renewal of the whole community, the Church included. Decline in the emphasis on the purely religious aspect of men and things was both incidental and accidental. Men cannot concentrate on everything at the same time, and it was only natural that an attention to details should preclude a sense of the whole. Be that as it may, it is certainly true that Renaissance joic de vivre often degenerated into frivolity and moral anarchy. Like all advocates of a onesidedly intellectual culture, Renaissance Man had created a world that was swept and garnished, but empty. He was unsocial, despised the masses, and lived his life with stoic inviolability. Some of the more forceful spirits fell for the attractions of the unbridled Ueber mensch, and in almost all there was a weakening of the conscious ness of sin and of the sense of the tragic in human life. But for all that, the new way of life was not in se un-Christian.

The conflict which such an attitude was eventually to bring for all serious believers remained long hidden. It burst out dramatically around 1499 with the appearance of Savonarola. Aftef 1527 Michelangelo, torn by the same conflict, took the decisive step for himself and for the world, and put an end to the easy self-sufficiency of the intellectual approach of the Renaissance. By so doing he marks the end of the Renaissance itself in the strict sense of the term.

The great masters practised their art primarily from a theoretical standpoint, i.e. by way of scientific observation and experiment. In representing the human figure, what fascinated them most was anatomy, and when they wanted to convey depth, then it was the laws of perspective. Their naive joy in the display of their discoveries is surprising. The Quattrocento is full of studies of models with over-emphasized foreshortenings, overdeveloped muscles and over $\mbox{\tt Ingenious}$ perspectives. When the saints appear in this scientifically realist atmosphere all sense of mystery has disappeared. Sometimes the effect is striking, as in the work of Piero della Francesca, but usually it is theatrical, mundane and cold, and some of the features taken over from the symbolic period, such as the aureoles above the heads of the saints, seem to us totally out of place. Beauty is the major preoccupation: in the saints this beauty is more earthly, and in the worldlings it is more ideal. Ugliness was only tolerated as an indication of character. The men of the Renaissance no longer understood the symbolism of the sacraments, though they were intoxicated by the allegories which they took over haphazardly from the Ancients and reproduced in their own poetry.

The revolution had begun in sculpture. The human figure freed itself from the restrictions of the bas-relief, and of clothing, and was presented as a three dimensional plastic figure of correct anatomical proportions. The great masters are Jacopo della 651- Quercia, Lorenzo Ghiberti, Verrocchio and Donatello (whose 652 Gattamelata at Padua is the first equestrian statue since that of Marcus Aurelius). In painting, the 'giotteschi', the masters of the XIVth century, had gone on painting their luxurious and gilded throngs, but this came to an end around 1400 with Gentile da Fabriano, who delighted Italy with the refined elegance of his processions, and Pisanello the Veronese, a solitary $_{649}$ courtier in a bourgeois world, who drew the most realistic animal sketches and cut the most beautiful medallic profiles. The year of his death, 1455, marked also the death of Fra Angelico, the 648 saint who in his monastery of San Marco and elsewhere recorded his visionary experience in paint, and who sometimes, as 512 in the great Crucifixion in the refectory of his monastery, surpassed all the religious art of his time in nobility and sincerity. In contrast to these richly varied works stands the work of five great masters who are united by the high seriousness with which they conquered reality: Masaccio, Uccello, Andrea

Leading figures of the early Cinquecento. 672/ Pope Julius II, by Raphael. 673/ Pope Leo X, by Raphael. 674/ Aretino, by Titian. 675/ Castiglione, by Raphael. 676/ Macchiavelli, by Sandro di Tito. 677/ Da Vinci (self-portrait). 678/ Raphael (self-portrait). 679/ Michelangelo (self-portrait). [cf. maps 28-33]













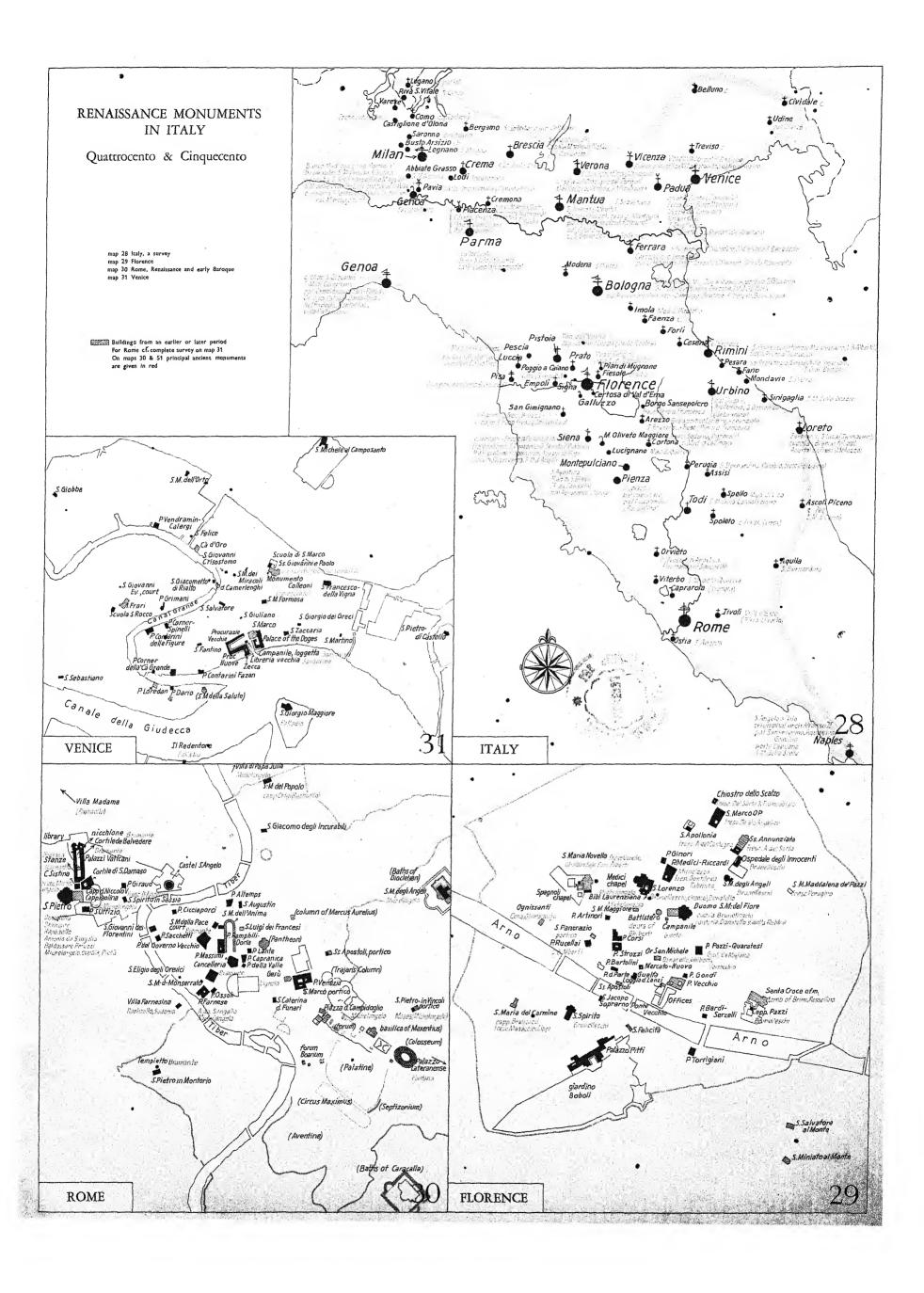




680/ Todi, Sta. Maria della Consolazione, 1508-1534. Probably by Bramante. The ideal model of an early Cinquecento church on a centralized plan. 681/ Pistoia, Madonna dell'Umiltà. Vitoni, 1494-1505; still in the light manner of the Quattrocento. 682/ Rome, St. Peter's, cupola by Michelangelo, 1547-1564; completed after his death. An example of the powerful manner of the mature Cinquecento. 683/ Venice, San Giorgio Maggiore. Palladio, 1565-1580. 684/ Montepulciano, San Biagio. Ant. de Sangallo, 1518-1539. 685/ Rome, St. Peter's; pillars of the cupola by Bramante, 1506, reinforced by Michelangelo after 1547. 686/ Rome, Gesù. Façade by Giacomo della Porta, 1572. Light but dynamic; early baroque. 687/ Rome, Gesù. By Vignola, after 1568. Principal model for baroque churches with cupola and vast single nave. 688/ Venice, Library of St. Mark's. Sansovino, 1537-1550; completed in 1583 by Scamozzi. [cf. maps 28-33]

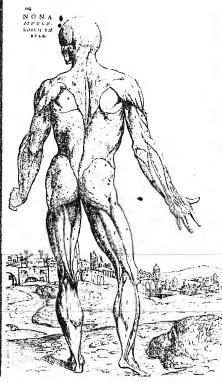


Examples from the work of the Great Masters of the West. 689/ Titian, The Fall. Madrid, Prado. 690/ Tintoretto, Christ before Pilate, 1577-1581. Venice, Scuola di San Rocco. 691/ Michelangelo, The Last Judgement (detail), 1534-1541. Vatican, Sistine Chapel. 692/ Caravaggio, The Calling of St. Matthew, 1592. Rome, San Luigi dei Francesi. Caravaggio is the first of the 'chiaroscuristi'. 693/ Titian, Bacchanal. London, National Gallery. An instance of the renewed interest in the mythology of Antiquity, which provided an inexhaustible source of inspiration for both altists and writers alike. 694/ Titian, Pope Paul III. Naples Museum. 695/ Titian, Portrait of a Nobleman. Florence, Pitti Palace. 696/ Moroni, Portrait of a Young Man. Otterlo (the Netherlands), Kröller-Müller Museum.











697 698 699

German XVIth cent. book-illustration. 697/ Woodcut by Hans Schäuffelin from the first edition of the 'Theuerdank', printed by Johann Schönsperger at Nuremberg, 1517. 698/ Woodcut by John de Calcar from the first edition of Vesalius's 'De Humani Corporis fabrica libri septem', Basel, 1543. 699/ Lucas of Leyden, Sisera and Jael. [cf. maps 28-33]

del Castagno, Masolino and Piero della Francesca (1416–1492), the great master of the History of the Cross in S. Francesco at Arezzo. After them came Pollaiuolo and Luca Signorelli, whose Finimondo in the cathedral of Orvieto is a sort of prelude to the Judgement in the Sistine Chapel. We must class as followers rather than as leaders such figures as the narrative painter Benozzo Gozzoli, Filippo Lippi, Botticelli with his penetrating but unhealthy grace, and the prosaic Ghirlandajo. Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), the many-sided virtuoso, physiognomist, engineer, anatomist and architect, introduced the sfumato (the concealment with light and shade of the all too linear contours), and created that composition on elementary axes which typified the High Renaissance.

Padua is the northern centre, and it was there that Mantegna grappled with the problems of reproducing landscape, architecture, and the human body, in a concrete plastic form. He also created the first group-portrait, that of the Gonzagas, the ducal family of Mantua, and in a cupola of the Palazzo del Te he also painted the first fresco 'di sotto in sù', that is, 'seen from underneath'. In half-Byzantine Venice there was a steady development of painting of a richly mellow colourfulness. Laborious study has no place here, only pure painting, and Gianbellini with his bewitching landscapes and pure immobility is a prelude to the glowing splendour of Giorgione and Titian that was to come after 1500. Crivelli, the Vivarinis and even the engaging Carpaccio seem by comparison to belong to a smaller and more bustling world. To sum up 659 Quattrocento painting in a single phrase, we may say with Malraux that it was born from the penetration of the sculptors into the world of two dimensions.

The architecture of this period is more to be admired for its harmonious effects than for its technical qualities. According to its first theorist, Leon Battista Alberti, the beauty of a building consists of the harmony between 641 the whole and its parts, 'so that nothing can be added or subtracted without damaging everything'. It follows that the architect is free to choose whatever forms he will, provided that he relates them all into a perfectly harmonious composition - a conception which runs directly counter to the dynamic and organic expressiveness of Gothic. Alberti and his colleagues did not in fact choose at random but took over from Antiquity their basic forms even down to the smallest details, and primarily, of course, they borrowed the ordonnance of columns and architraves, pilasters and ornamented ceilings. Men devoted all their energies to the rediscovery of the relationships which governed the five ancient orders. The result, checked and tested by Vitruvius with reference to extant ruins, was speedily published in illustrated form, and thanks to the architectural treatises of Serlio, Blum and, a century later, Vignola, it conquered virtually the whole of Europe. The five orders go hand in hand with Western architecture - and indeed with Western furniture - till the end of the nine-664 teenth century. Foliage, scroll-work, balusters, clipei (medallions) and wreaths were all borrowed from ancient ornamentation. A delicate and much too minute chase-work covered the pilasters, socles and friezes and sometimes even the entire gable, as in the Certosa at Pavia. It is a 'thin' architecture, with

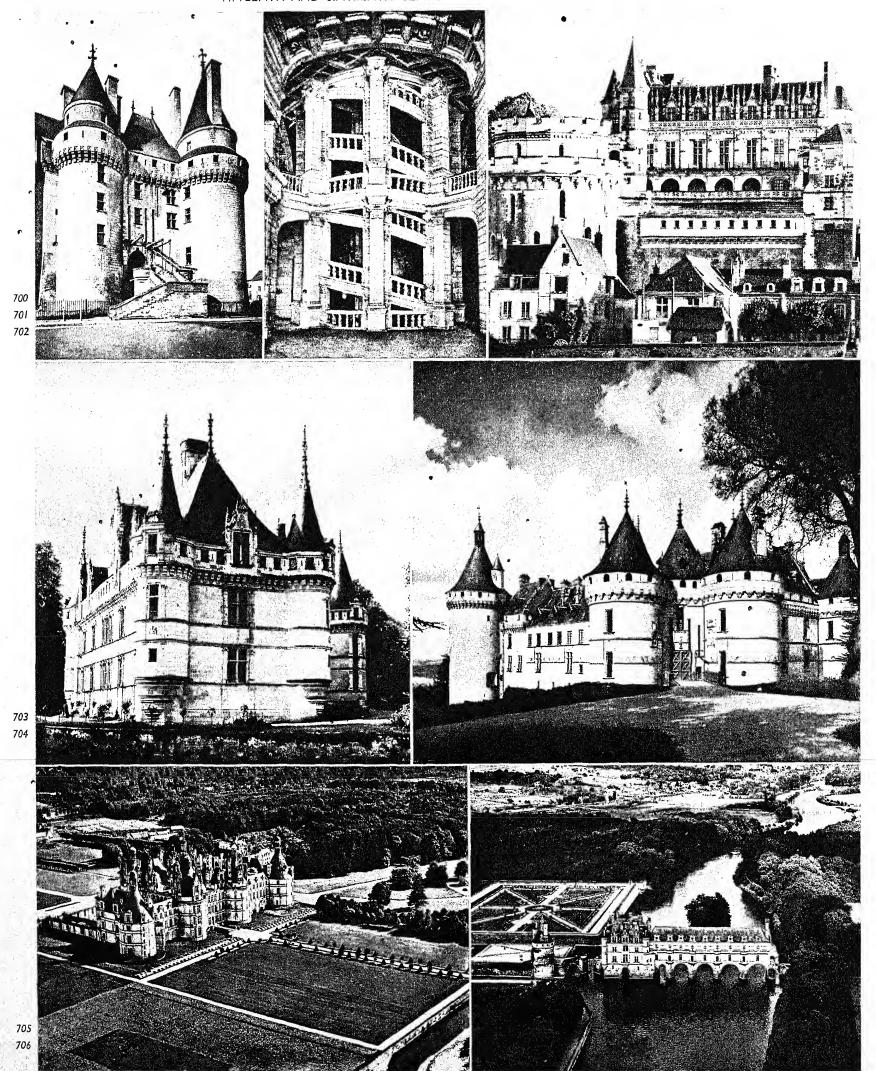
attractively decorated and nobly proportioned surfaces simply juxtaposed. On account of their deep hollows, walls are not felt as a'solid mass, windows seem to be merely cut out of the flat surface, and pilasters run lightly overhead. Just as characteristic as the churches are the patrician palaces. They are enormous blocks conceived entirely in terms of their façades, filled with uninhabitable living-rooms, a state-room and a narrow chapel, and with everything subordinated to the effect of an arcaded inner courtyard. The best known are the Riccardi, Pitti, Rucellai and Strozzi palaces at Florence, and 658 the Cancellaria at Rome. The churches remained faithful to the pattern of the basilica, e.g. Brunelleschi's Santo Spirito and San Lorenzo. Everywhere there were elegant arcades with rows of pillars both outside and in; but preference went to the central pattern with a cupola, the monumental form par excellence. 656 Brunelleschi's cupola on the Duomo, added to the XIVth century nave, harks back to the Gothic tradition of the lantern-cupola. The first purely original experiments are such small rotundas as the sacristy of San Lorenzo and the Pazzi chapel. These are followed by more ambitious experiments at Milan and Prato, and after 1500 at Montepulciano and Todi; finally, there comes the new 680/84 St. Peter's. At Mantua between 1470 and 1490 Alberti built the Sant' Andrea, 657 a single vast space ringed round by massive pillars which were reminiscent of the ancient baths, and between which the chapels were situated. Such a plan is virtually identical with that of the Gesù which was to arise at Rome a hundred years later as the model for Baroque church architecture. Alberti 686-7 was the architectural theorist of the Quattrocento, and passed on the torch to Bramante and to Michelangelo.

THE CINQUECENTO

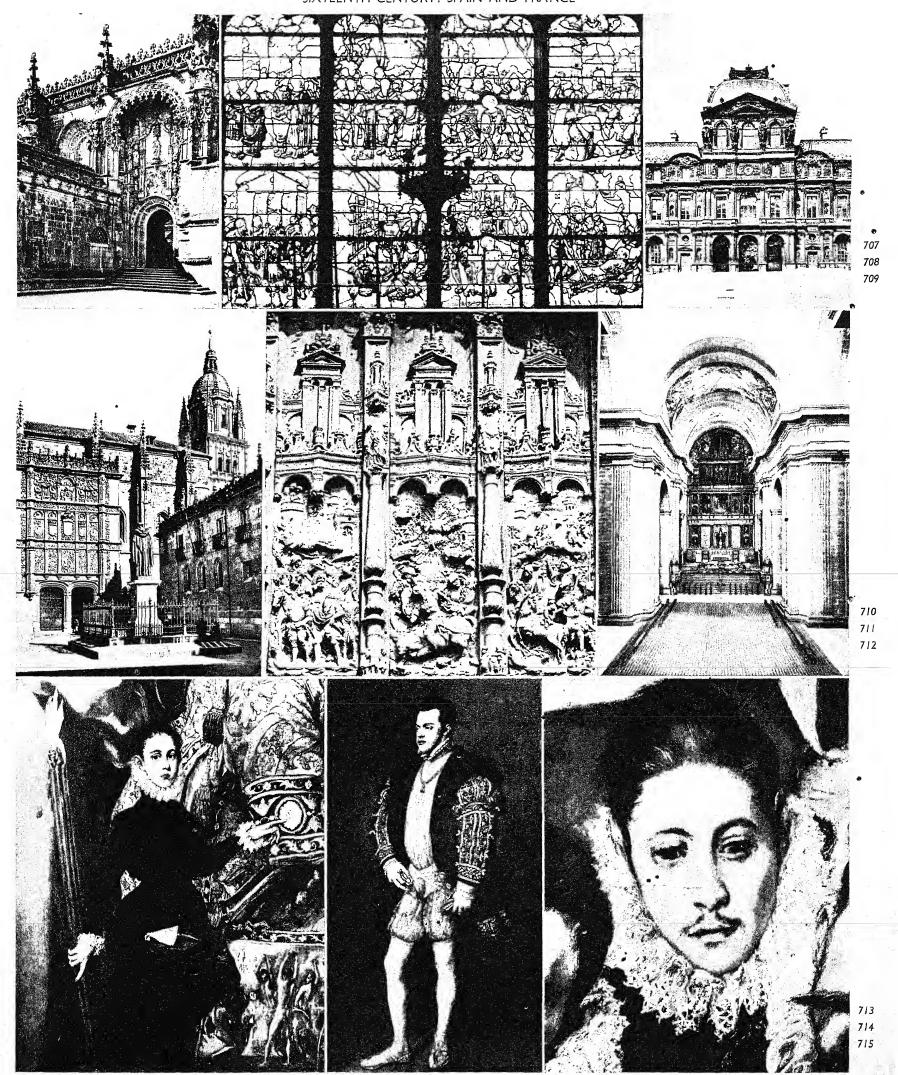
What still lay hidden in the overall picture of the XVth century (map 27), now stands out starkly on the map of the XVIth century (map 35); we can see the boundary between the zenith of the Quattrocento and the nadir of the Waning Middle Ages.

In Italy the Quattrocento matured into the monumental majesty of the Roman Cinquecento, the 'High Renaissance' which lasted from 1500 to 1527. In Germany after 1517, on the other hand, the uneasy Christendom of the Waning Middle Ages split irrevocably into two parts (map 35).

As for the Cinquecento, Bramante drew his famous plan for St. Peter's in 1506. It was to be on a central pattern with a cupola, and more of a monument than a cathedral, at least in so far as the traditional elements of altar, cathedra, 682 and space for the congregation were concerned. So little consideration had the men of this period for the preservation of what was old, and so assured were they of the excellence of what was new, that the whole of Christendom 685 watched unmoved as the twelve-hundred-year-old basilica of Constantine, the most venerable sanctuary in the world, was demolished to make way for the new St. Peter's. Rome rapidly outshone the fame of Florence. It is now the city where Bramante from Lombardy, Raphael from Urbino and Michel-678 angelo Buonarotti from Florence conduct themselves as Romans, as if the 679



A process began in the XVth cent, which was not to reach fulfilment till the end of the XVIth: the French château gradually changed from a strong strategic fortification into a rich and picturesque palace. For a long time the old type remained, with turreted wings formed round an inner courtyard, and with moat and donjon. Then the central stairways, windows and fanlights began to be decorated, the ceilings were painted, and the fireplaces ornamented and elaborated. Langeais and Amboise (nos. 700 and 702) belong to the old type, but the XVIIth cent. châteaux of the Loire belong to the world of the French Renaissance. The latter are sometimes colossal palaces, full of details borrowed from Italy, but quite unlike the sober Florentine palazzi. 700/ Langeais. 701/ Chambord, the great stairway. 702/ Amboise. 703/ Azay-le-Rideau. 704/ Chaumont, façade facing the garden. 705/ Chambord from the North-East. 706/ Chenonceaux, from the air.



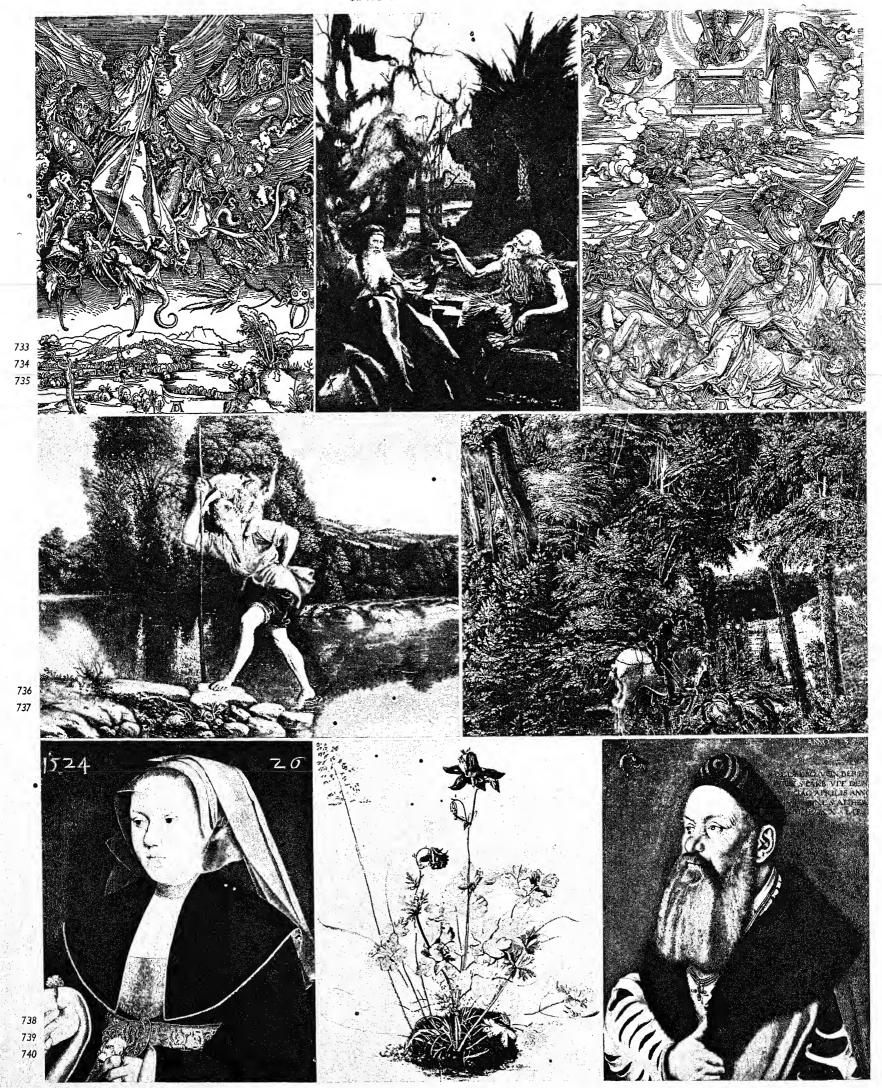
707/ Tomar, Portugal. Convento de Christo. One of the masterpieces of the 'manuelino' style. 708/ Bourges Cathedral, Chapelle des Copin. Window with the martyrdoms of Sts. Stephen and Lawrence; by Jean Lescuyer, 1518. A typical example of XVIth cent. French stained-glass. 709/ Paris, Louvre. Pavillon de Lescot. From 1546. 710/ University of Salamanca. Façade in 'plateresco' style. In the background, tower of the late Gothic Catedral Nueva. 711/ Beauvais Cathedral. Panel from door of south transept, depicting Conversion of St. Paul; by Jean le Pot, 1562. 712/ El Escorial: the convent church, looking towards the high altar from the Coro Alto; by Juan de Herrera, 1559-1567. A severe Palladian classical style in reaction to 'plateresco'. 713/ Toledo, Santo Tomé. Detail from the Funeral of the Count of Orgaz; by El Greco, 1586. 714/ Titian, Philip II. Naples. 715/ Toledo, Santo Tomé. Detail from the Funeral of the Count of Orgaz; by El Greco (cf. no. 713).



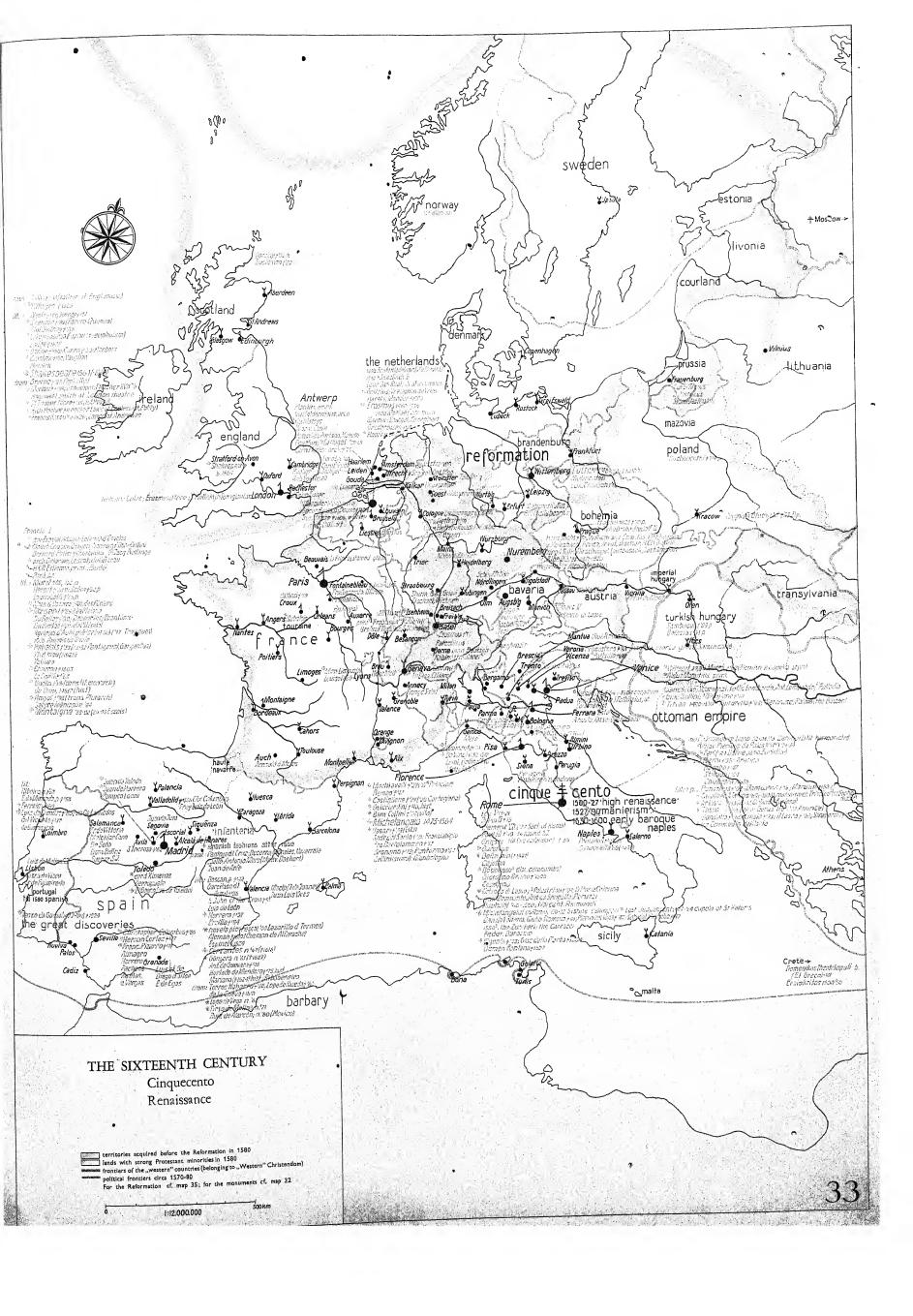
In sharp contrast with the monumental directness of the Cinquecento, the Northern countries continued the picturesque and opulent art of the Late Middle Ages, though they added a touch of Italian decorative style. 716/St. Nicholas, Kalkar. Typical pre-Reformation interior of the Lower Rhine. 717/The Assumption. Detail from a window by Pieter Aertsz in the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam, 1555. 718/ Gouda, St. Janskerk. Ambulatory, with the celebrated windows by Crabeths. Mid-XVIth cent. 719/ Munich, St. Michael. One of the first Jesuit churches in Germany, and the single great Renaissance monument in that country. 720/ Detail from the Altarpiece of St. Anna: Joachim and Anna in the Temple; by Quinten Matsys, Brussels. 720/St. Nicholas, Kalkar. The Flight into Egypt: the falls of the idols and the thieves. From the Altar of the Seven Dolours, ca. 1500. Example of popular art on a sculptured retable. [cf. maps 32-33]

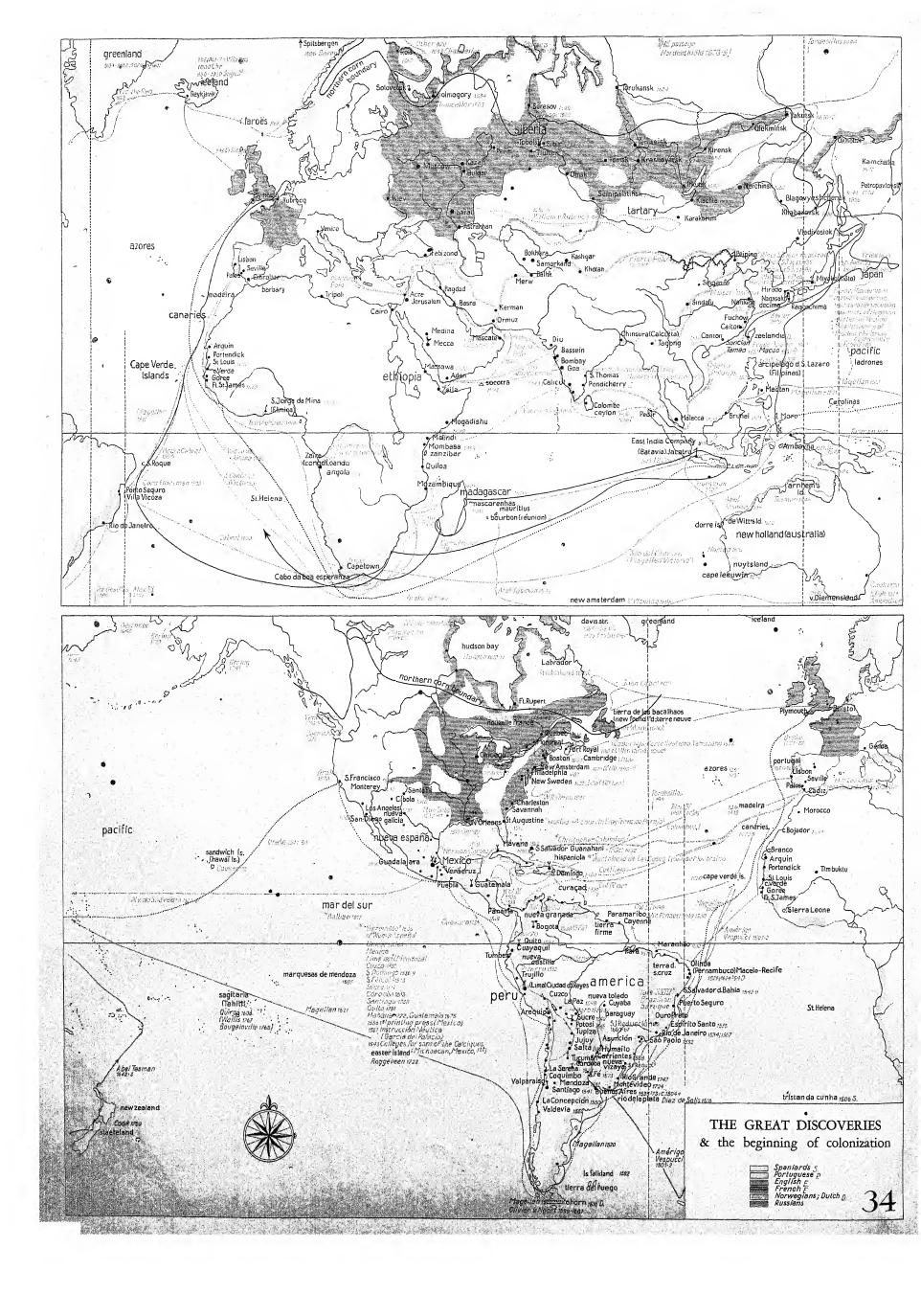


The whole of the XVIth cent. provides us with an impressive portrait gallery, and the entire period comes to life in the faces of its leading men. 725/ The Cardinal of Brandenburg; by an anonymous master. Rome, Galleria Corsini. 726/ Henry the Eighth; by Holbein the Younger. Rome, Galleria Corsini. 727/ Erasmus of Rotterdam; by Holbein. Paris, the Louvre. 728/ Two canons of Utrecht, as pilgrims to Jerusalem; by John van Scorel. Berlin. 729/ Prince Charles of France, later Charles IX. Drawing by François Clouet. Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève. 730/ William the Silent; by Anthonius Mor van Dashorst. Kassel, Gemäldegalerie. 731/ Pieter Breughel the Elder (1515-1569), self-portrait. Drawing in the Albertina, Vienna. 732/ The Emperor Charles V. Detail from a portrait painted by Titian at Augsburg, 1548. Munich, Old Pinakothek.



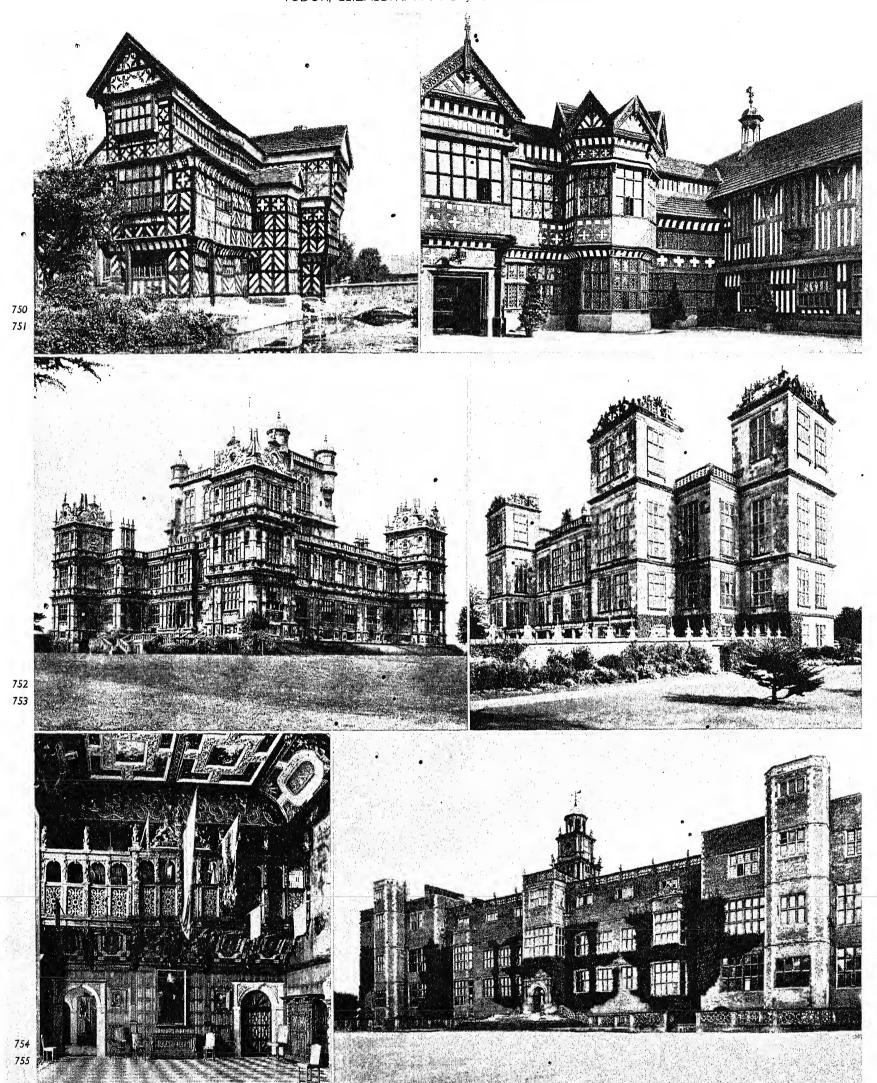
The strength of German art in the period around 1500 lies in the fantastic and the ultra-realistic. The greatest names are Mathis Nithart (formerly called Grünewald) and Albrecht Dürer. We can hardly include Holbein of Basel here, as he worked mostly in England. 733-735/ Albrecht Dürer, two pages of woodcuts from the Apocalypse. L.: the Angels fighting the Dragon; r.: the Avenging Angels. 734/ St. Antony visits Paul the Hermit in the desert; by Mathis Nithart. Panel from a retable. Colmar. 736/ St. Christopher, by Adam Elsheimer (?), 1572-1647. This landscape painter was much admired by Rembrandt. Berlin. 737/ Albrecht Altdorfer, St George and the Dragon, 1510. Munich, Old Pinakothek. 738/ Bartel Bruyn the Elder, Portrait. Otterlo (the Netherlands), Kröller-Müller Museum. 739/ Albrecht Dürer, Columbine. Drawing, 1526. 740/ Hans Baldung Grien, Adalbert ill of Berenfels, 1555.







741/ A specimen of Shakespeare's handwriting. Ms. Harl. 7368, f. 9, in the British Museum. 742/ William Shakespeare. The Droeshout engraving in the title-page of the First Folio. 743/ Frontispiece of the first Quarto of Hamlet, printed by V. Sims in 1603. 744/ De Witt's drawing of the Swan Theatre, made in 1596 (from the Commonplace Book of Arend van Buchell, Utrecht). 745/ The Memorial in the Parish Church of Stratford-on-Avon. Bust by Gerard Jansen (Johnson), executed soon after Shakespeare's death on April 23rd, 1616. 746/ Title-page of Drayton's Poly-Olbion, 1613, engraved by William Hole. 747/ John Bull, organist and composer. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (1580). 748-749/ Richard Burbage and Nathaniel Field, two Shakespearean actors. Dulwich Gallery.



750/ Little Moreton Hall, Astbury (Cheshire), a picturesque black-and-white Tudor home, built 1520-1580, partly by Carpenter Dale. 751/ Bramhall Hall, Stockport (Lancs.). Built about 1590 by Sir William and Dame Dorothy Davenport. A typical house of the Tudor gentry. The 'Elizabethan' Renaissance is notable for such picturesque and ostentatious Halls as: 752/ Wollaton Hall, Nottingham, built 1580-1585. 753/ Hardwick Hall, Chesterfield (Derbyshire), 1590, with its vast windows, succeed to the Gothic mansions, yet perpetuate the spirit and romance of the feudal age.- Less originality but more stateliness characterized Jacobean mansions: 754-755/ Hatfield House (Hertfordshire). The Hall, and the Entrance Front. Built 1607-1612. (750-755 Courtesy to Country Life Ltd., London, publisher of "English Country Houses open to the public".)

spirit of the place did not allow these great masters to be anything else but Roman, i.e. universal, classical and definitive. Rome is once again 'the mistress of the game of this world'. At the same time Europe saw the spread of the later international humanism, typified by Erasmus. In the European intellectual world of the time his name reigned supreme. His Adagia, a collection of aphorisms and sententiae from Antiquity, that was expanded at each successive printing till it eventually contained thousands of items, first appeared at Paris in 1500. This book brought the learning of the humanists out of the studies of scholars to take its place in the salons and on the readingdesks of the average educated classes. Everyone who could read imbibed the wisdom of the Ancients in this convenient form. Italy produced, one after 675 another, the best literary achievements of the century: Castiglione's Courtier, 676 Machiavelli's Prince, Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, Bembo's Poems on the Petrarchan model and, somewhat later, Guicciardini's shrewd and objective historical work. In 1512 the scaffolding was taken down from the Sistine 672 Chapel and the overbearing Julius II beheld the 'Creation' and 'Original Sin' painted by Michelangelo, a man as overbearing as himself, whom he could neither do without nor control, and whom he always admired.

The year 1527 sees the sudden end of the High Renaissance - the feast is 674 over. Italy had reached her lowest point in political decadence and could not recover. Rome was plundered by an already half Lutheran soldiery, and though she swiftly repaired the material damage, she never recovered her carefree spirit. But even in the Curia itself, Rome recovered her true apostolic vocation, to which culture was but a subsidiary factor. For outside Italy in 1527 seriousminded people were no longer concerned with the works of Erasmus, or the amazing works of art in Rome, or the insinuations of Aretino. What was of primary concern was the impossible situation of the Church and the sudden appearance of the Man of Wittenberg. After 1517 Christendom is no longer one. After 1525 it is no longer the Renaissance, but the problem of beliefs, that moves men's deepest feelings. The repercussions were felt eventually even in Italy, where the Reformation was originally underestimated and considered as affecting Germany alone. For the atmosphere in Italy changed so perceptibly after 1550 that there was no longer any doubt that the Renaissance had ended. The change developed into what we call 'Baroque', the ecclesiastical and Spanish-tinged culture of the Counter Reformation.

The change can best be seen in architecture and in sculpture ratker than in literature. The monumental, self-sufficient calm of 1510 has disappeared and so has the nervous mannerism of 1530. A new inner resoluteness, a real power and assurance animates the limbs and gestures of the statues and is even reflected in the ordonnance of the pilasters and the contours of the cupolas -682 the latter all now derived from the cupolone of St. Peter's. Every figure and every composition is of firm conscious purposiveness. There was no longer any hesitancy. The self-complacency of 1510 and the showiness of 1527 have disappeared. The charmingly playful Early Renaissance, the majestic High Renaissance and the hysterical Manierismo were succeeded, calmly at first but later more ostentatiously, by the powerful and self-assured Baroque. The last traces of Manierismo disappeared around 1580 and it was then that 686 Vignola and Giacomo della Porta completed the Gesù, the mother church of the Jesuits and the classic model for all congregational Baroque churches. Thereafter began the stream of monuments which for two centuries decorated the whole Catholic West, the whole of Catholic Central Europe and the New World beyond the seas, and which still shed their lustre to this very day. 766 Baroque begins at Rome and spreads throughout the world. It breathes an air of assurance, triumph and authority. It is the art of a ruling caste, spiritual and temporal, who are deeply pious, patriarchal, on good terms with profane culture, absolutist and authoritarian, and yet thoroughly humane. Technically Baroque arose in Rome, but spiritually it was born of the inner tragedy of a single man, Michelangelo. He felt, like no other man could feel, the precariousness of the compromise between a living faith and the worldliness of the Renaissance. His solitary conflict with the visible world is hard for the ordinary run of mortals to understand: in twisting and tormenting his heavy figures he expressed his Platonic vision of reality. But his ultimate heroic and spontaneous surrender to Christ makes him the Pascal of the XVIth century and the father of Baroque. He brought into movement the static world of Renaissance forms, and thus awoke the powerful zest of the Baroque, that new Gothic in Italian, i.e. sensualistic, disguise. It is significant than in 1550, at the end of the Renaissance, his admirer Vasari published the famous book in which he related the whole history of the movement as far as the plastic arts were concerned, starting with Giotto and concluding with his master Michelangelo. A new epoch had indeed begun.

A consideration of the culture of the XVIth century as a whole (map 33) reveals in many fields the rupture caused by the Reformation. But nevertheless the Reformation in the north and the influence of Spain and of the Counter Reformation in Italy, have not killed the Renaissance spirit. On the contrary, notwithstanding the conflicts of conscience and the subsequent anarchy of

the Wars of Religion, the leading spirits of the West formed a unity, albeit under the overwhelming predominance of Italian culture. Rome and Venice remained the artists' paradise; the prestige of Michelangelo, Raphael and Titian was undiminished, Palladio was the new Vitruvius, and Dante had to make way for Ariosto and Tasso and later for Marino. In music, after Willaert had gone to Venice, the Flemish had to surrender the field to the Venetians and the Romans. Padua becomes the centre for medicine and anatomy and the Fleming Vesalius, who taught there, published his celebrated book De Humani Corporis Fabrica libri septem at Basel. Science now knows no frontiers. 698 There is Fracastoro from Verona, the first researcher into syphilis, the French surgeon Paré, the historian Peutinger, the philologists Scaliger and Lipsius, and the geographers Mercator and Münster. These and many others alla belonged to the virtually international republic of new positive science that depended more on facts than on authority and tradition. On the other hand, though such a genius as Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina belongs to the Rome of the Counter Reformation in virtue of his markedly ecclesiastical style, he too, in his noble and fluid melody and in his ingenious yet crystal-clear setting, belongs no less to the typically Italian Cinquecento.

But besides the dividing line drawn by the Reformation, we begin to see also more and more clearly the boundaries which divide the nations from each other. What once formed a chequered but unmistakably united Christendom is now irrevocably divided into sharply differentiated nations that are capable of fighting each other to the death for their national rights. Despite the impermanent and overstrained world hegemony of Spain, France (already a centralized state under Louis XI) and later the England of Elizabeth receive the distinctive political characteristics which remain unaltered to this day. The United Netherlands broke away from the German Empire, at first spiritually, and after the Revolt, politically. After 1600 the Spanish hegemony no longer existed.

In all the above mentioned countries the predominantly Italianized cultural life maintained its characteristic stamp. The French armies, which had passed a dozen times over the Alps between 1498 and 1530, brought the free and simple art of living of the Etalian Renaissance back with them into the witty but still jovial land of the bonnes villes and of the cramped châteaux with their narrow turrets. In Fontainebleau the Cinquecento, and above all Florentine Manierismo, obtained a sort of outpost. But the French architects (for the most part ardent Huguenots) disdained the inferior Italian vaulting, and only adapted to what remained of their own tradition the superior Italian proportions, motifs and general norms. Thus arose an entirely original and vigorous prolongation of the best Late Gothic tradition, in Renaissance forms but without the Italian clichés, and produced with truly French finesse. It may be 701-6 noted in passing that the châteaux of the Loire - Amboise, Blois, Chambord, Azay etc. $_{\mathbf{T}}$ and the plans for Charleval and Verneuil and the Louvre, surpass in extent and in design the Italian residencies, just as the French monarchy surpassed the petty Italian principalities.

In erudition and in letters France remained unmistakably herself. Her literature is rich and somewhat diverse. In all fields it reveals that new feeling for life which rejoices in abundance and variety but which has no place for ascesis. It is this feeling which Rabelais brings to life in the fantastic world of Pantagruel where all restraints are broken and all instincts satisfied. Ronsards and the Pléiade introduce the alexandrine and refine verse forms and poetic emotions. Amyot translates Plutarch, Huguenots and Catholics write their polemical verses and pamphlets, and about 1600 Agrippa d'Aubigné writes his Les Tragiques which spares neither kings nor magnates. By contrast, there are the serene, sceptical yet forceful Essais of Montaigne, the countrygentleman whose motto is 'Que sçais-je?' And not far from the city from which Calvin directed his iron theocracy, St. Francis of Sales, Bishop of Geneva, writes his Introduction à la Vie Dévote and his Traité de l'Amour de Dieu, which so many Christians living in the world were to read as the best introduction to that spirituality which Bremond has called humanisme dévot. But classic French is still to come - it awaits Malherbe and the Grand Siècle.

Apart from a series of large but uninspiring castles and country-houses, England possesses little or nothing in the way of Renaissance monuments. On the other hand she has the brilliant humanistic circle to which Colet, Fisher, More and Erasmus belong, and whose portraits have been unforgettably rendered by Holbein the Younger. At the end of the century the rich 726 literature of the period is consummated by the incomparable and incalculable William Shakespeare, whose thirty-six dramas contain not only a richer language, but also more of the heights and depths, appearances and realities of the human situation than any other poetic œuvre.

Among the many cities of the Low Countries, Antwerp remained the centre in architecture and the arts, and her influence spread across Germany to the Baltic with the 'Floris style', named after the architect of the Antwerp town-hall, 722 Cornelis Florisz. Though the outward form was Italian, the structure remained traditionally 'Gothicized' and Netherlandish. In the cities of Flanders and







756/ Luther; by Lucas Cranach (1535). 757/ Calvin. Portrait in the Public Library of Geneva. 758/ Melanchthon; by Cranach the Elder.

[cf. maps 34-35]

Holland and in Utrecht, the Italian manner predominated, especially in paint-723/31 ing. After the period of Breughel the Elder (or Boeren-Breughel) and Quinten 720 Matsys, there followed that of Peter Coecke van Aelst, Maarten van Heemskerk, 728/30 Jan van Scorel and the great portrait-painter Anthonius Mor van Dashorst.

It was not the Renaissance that changed the overall picture of the German lands, and of the Spain so recently liberated from the Moors. It was two factors which were only partly related to national culture: for Spain it was the New World Empire and for Germany it was the Reformation.

SPAIN: THE NEW WORLD EMPIRE

In 1492 the enigmatic prediction of the Spaniard Seneca was unexpectedly fulfilled after fourteen centuries - 'Ultima Thule' disappeared, the ocean lost its boundaries and a new world appeared opposite the old, and the vast Atlantic Ocean reduced the Mediterraneau and the Baltic to the status of insland seas. The discoverer and occupier of the New World was militant Catholic Spain, which had just achieved her Reconquista and showed little trace of the Waning Middle Ages. Spain, with her hereditary Burgundian provinces, and united under the rule of Charles V with the German Empire, was the chief great power of the West. In a certain sense her primacy was also spiritual, even if we take into account the Italian Renaissance. For she lived at a deeper level - not only was her way of life more austere and haughty, she had also an indomitable faith. The answer to the Lutherans came from Spain. It is sufficient to cite the names of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier (both Basques), Teresa of Avila, St. John of the Cross, and the principal theologians of Trent and Salamanca, to see how much Spain has contributed, not only to the power of the counter-offensive of the Church, but also to the sensibility of the XVIth century.

The country was united, the Reformation had not touched it, it had no Waning Middle Ages - this was its greatest epoch. The most beautiful monuments of the period were built in a strikingly composite style - Gothic, Moorish, and early renaissance, mixed up together in the unmistakably Spanish 707/14 'silversmith' style, plateresco. Under Philip II, in Spanish eyes Yo el Rey, 712 'the incomparable king', the architect Herrera built the imposing Escorial, a majestic and sober conclusion to an era of such exuberant splendour.

In Philip's kingdom lived the great mystic saints of the period: St. Teresa of Avila, the reformer of the Carmelites and virtually the first prose-writer of her nation; St. John of the Cross, the poet of the Dark Night and of the

consuming power of Divine Love; and Hay Luis de León, Luis de Granada and countless others. The historian Mendoza wrote the critical account of the final struggle for Granada, and towards the end of the century Tirso de Molina and Lope de Vega created the characters and genres that were to determine the drama of the future. The picaresque novels, for their part, captivated Europe. And then, of course, there is Don Quixote, whose fame has extended beyond the West - that endearingly wise document of Spanish realism and unforgettable portrait of the true poetic spirit which transcends the banalities of everyday life.

The Spanish word infanterie is a sign of the times, for the Spanish armies are everywhere. After 1550 Spanish fashions conquer Europe, and even the 740 military finery of the Germans gradually yields to them. The puffed breeches, pleated ruffs, short cloaks, swords and headgear of Philip II are to be found 714 in all the principal portraits, and the ladies are enveloped in Spanish bodices, pleated skirts and gloves.

The Spanish mission in the New world (maps 34 and 52) has been variously judged. The proud New Spain and the 'Virreinato' have disappeared, but Latin America today is independent and the descendants of the Spaniards live side by side with the indigenous population. Latin America is Catholic and Spanish-speaking, and in all the older cities - Mexico, Puebla, Lima, Cuzco - and in almost every town and village of Mexico State, the churches and chapels of the Spanish epoch still survive, and in the old capital cities the universities founded in the XVIth century still maintain their traditions. Though Spain has not been able to preserve either her hegemony in the West or her world Empire, she is nonetheless, like Imperial Rome, the mother of many nations, indeed of a whole continent.

GERMANY AND THE REFORMATION

756 The Reformation, which began with one man, Luther, in a small university town in out-of-the-way Saxony, spread to a number of southern centres, especially in Switzerland, and at Geneva took the definitive form of Calvinism (map 35). From a simple manifesto of a few fervent adherents it became a movement whose mysterious power developed into a veritable spiritual hurricane.

It blew down humanist aestheticism like a house of cards. It sought out the people, and aroused in hundreds of thousands of consciences a new awareaffected the Germans - rural and patricien even in their academics and politi-

cians, and rough but by no means frivolous. From thence it spread to the people of other countries, and wherever the hurricane passed it left its indelible mark. The Reformation has irrevocably changed the spiritual climate in Northern Europe, in Catholic as well as non-Catholic lands - though in Spain least of all. The facts are in the history books. Within a few decades Germany, the Baltic countries, England, and part of Switzerland, and strong minority groups in Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Transylvania, the Netherlands and France, were all won over to the Reformation. The Council of Trent was conness of the problems of salvation and of the honour due to God. It first vened in the face of many difficulties and the new Reformers were conspicuous by their absence. Trent made it very clear what was permissible and what was





not. The austere Caraffa had belonged to a circle in Italy which advocated internal reform of the Church, and which included the 'Oratory of Divine Love', and such figures as Contarini. Now, as Pope Paul IV, Caraffa put an end to all temporizings and delays, revived the Inquisition, and gave the new orders, the Theatines, Capuchins and Jesuits, a free hand to save what they could.

A comparison between maps 33 and 35 shows the ebb and flow of the Reformation between Northern and Central Europe. The religious frontiers, only become definitively established in the first quarter of the XVIIth century.

In the dramatic XVIth century France is once more the nation where decisions are taken which affect the whole of the West. The first nation in Christendom remained herself. She frequently chose the anti-Spanish, anti-Habsburg, and sometimes the anti-Papal side, but she remained Catholic. It is certainly true that the most intransigent of the Reformers was the hard and penetrating Calvin from Noyon in Picardy, and it was his system that was to be the pith and substance of Protestantism as a world wide religion. France was subjected to the attraction of sola fide and the simple Word of God as was no other Romance land. But she remained Catholic, and her steadfastness was maintained neither by external compulsion nor by the whim of Henry IV.

It is debatable whether an outline of the Reformation and the reaction it aroused in the Mother Church belongs to a survey of cultural history. It may be said that matters of faith stand outside our field and have only a very indirect relationship with the characteristics of culture. The Reformation is in fact not a positive factor in the strict cultural history of the XVIth century. It brought with it a way of life in which the sacrament gave place to the Word, the image to the Book, and the liturgy to the sermon and congregational singing (but to sermons and singing very different from those of the heroic epoch and of the days of the martyrs). All the works of art that piety had created in previous generations were now considered as idolatrous or, at least, as superfluous. What flourished now was hymnology and the other expressions of the new piety.

There is also the fact that the rupture caused by the Reformation had incalculably weakened the West, and changed what had been a homogeneous culture into two parallel civilizations, identical in essence, but differing in appearance on account of religious differences. It is true that a small part of the intellectual class held aloof from differences of belief, and during the savage wars of religion which the Reformation brought to many lands, and above all to France, this aloofness often developed into total indifference and anticlericalism. Those who were faithful to the old religion, whether from habit or conviction, and those who had consciously accepted the new faith, both held to their beliefs, but without enthusiasm or fanaticism. A new type of Western man arose, the Erasmian - tolerant, gently sceptical, often indeed with a solid personal faith, but undogmatic and stoical. For them 'it was not beliefs but men that mattered.' The late Cinquecento is also the period of men like Montaigne, teachers of the relativity of human values and of a sweetly reasonable art of living. Erasmianism was not dead, only silent. After 1550, however, it bore scarcely any relation to the actuality of things, and since the advent of Luther it had appeared to straightforward characters as an insipid, not to say pusillanimous, philosophy. From now on till the XVIIIth century public opinion in matters of belief is neither tolerant nor indifferent.

Thus it is that the line of demarcation which, after 1550, cuts off the world of Wittenberg, Basel, Strasbourg, Geneva, London and Leiden from Latin and Central Europe, is undoubtedly most important and fateful for the West, for it did not disappear and it left untouched no important territory. A glance at the map of the monuments (map 32) reveals at once the importance of the confessional boundary. Above the line lie areas once rich in works of art but now irrevocably impoverished by the iconoclasts, or, as in England, by the dissolution of the monasteries. Men now built country-houses and castles, not for the general good, but for the sovereign or his favourites. Later Tudor architecture consists for the most part of halls, castles and country-seats. 'Merry England' is a thing of the past, and alongside the Elizabethan nobility that inherited the confiscated monastic possessions there grew up a hard, businesslike and energetic merchant people that could neither accept nor dispense with their aristocratic upper class and their Anglican Church.

Germany before 1525 was a collection of small and numerous cities that were both active and picturesque. It was renowned for engravings and books, 687-9 barbaric in its language and yet proud of its excellent printers and of its great 733-35 Dürer. After 1525 that powerful and flourishing land fell under the spell of 739 the man from Wittenberg. Germany had to suffer all the misery of social and religious anarchy, and sank into political and theological chaos. The ultimate results were the isolation of German culture and the horrors of the Thirty Years' War.

To get a good picture of the spiritual climate of this country of the early Reformation and the first national evangelical churches, one should first study the incomparable prose of Luther and the moving evangelical hymns and then the polemical theological pamphlets covering all forms of *Grobianis-mus*. One should also study the tormented saints of Mathis Nithart, and the 734/740 satyrs, witches and *Landsknechte* of Hans Baldung Grien, the landscapes of 737/736 Altdorfer and Elsheimer, and above all the portraits of Cranach and his dis- 738/756 ciples

This country of rural nobility and bourgeois dignity that before 1525 was at its zenith, and that was the well-spring of reforming piety, is completely cut off after 1555 from the main currents of European culture. For more than a century and a half it builds nothing but châteaux and town-halls in a mediocre decorative style borrowed from Antwerp or Italy. Side by side with that, it produces an inexhaustible mass of typically Renaissance erudition, mostly in Latin.

But the leadership of Protestantism as a future world wide religion did not remain in the hands of the Lutherans, but was transferred to the disciples of Calvin, and partly to the manifold Nonconformist groups stemming from the body of the Anglican Church.

In this century the Reformation remained confined to the West, and consolidated itself in the northern lands. After 1600 it was driven out of a few Central and Southern European lands, and to begin with there was little talk of any full-scale mission outside Europe. The Catholic Church, on the contrary, which had lost so many territories inside Europe, sent her missionaries to all parts of the newly discovered world. The Jesuits and the older orders brought the first Good Tidings to the New World, India, Japan and the Philippines. But in the West itself Christendom was divided into two camps for good and all.

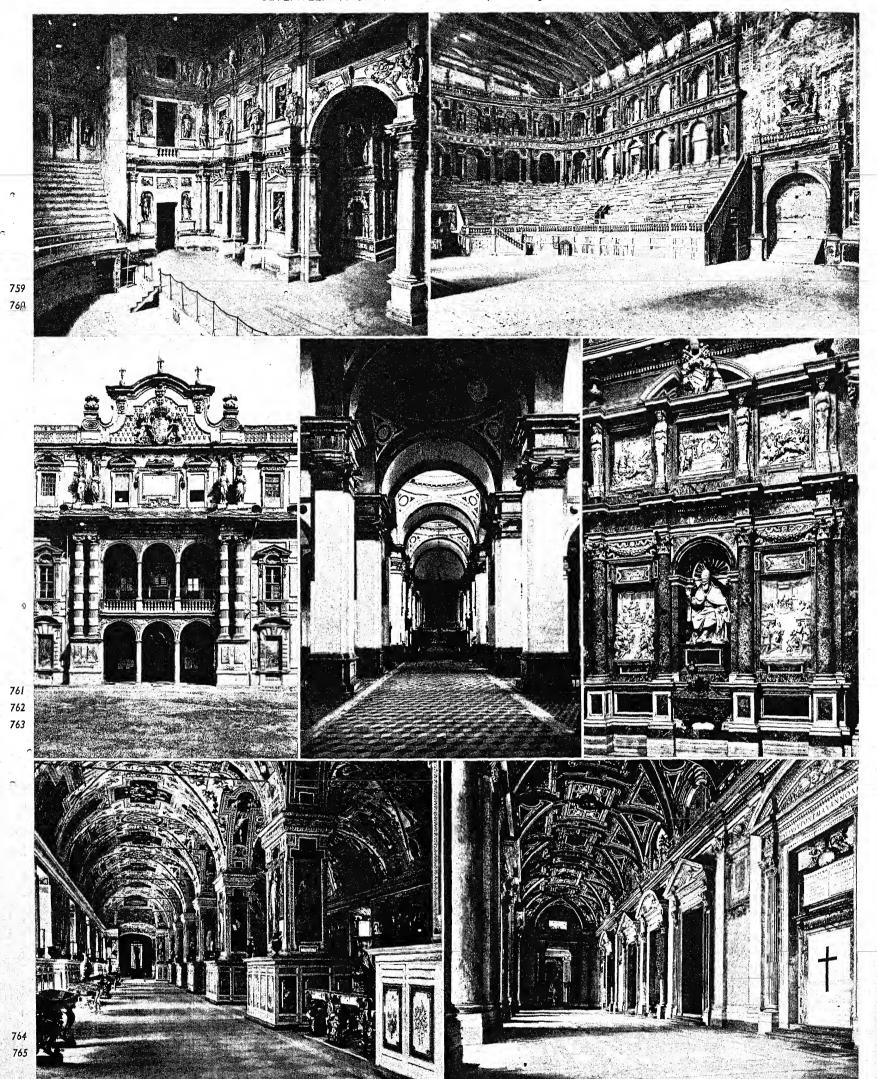
FRANCE: THE GRAND SIÈCLE

Despite many wars, the 17th century was a period of relative stability as far as the France of Louis XIV was concerned, and it was towards France that the centre of gravity, culturally speaking, now shifted. In 1600 Rome and Italy was the centre, but by 1700 it was definitely Paris. Italian Baroque culture, the last phase of the national Renaissance, gives way throughout the West to the more detached and strictly rational French Classicism, the centre of which, in arts and letters, was the leading Court of Europe.

The hegemony of the *Grand Siècle* covers a fixed cultural area, but the hegemony of France is primarily political. As a political force Italy was nowhere, and in the economic and social field she was only of secondary importance. The nations now to be reckoned with are France, England, Spain and the United Provinces, and a little later Sweden. About 1700 Peter the Great provided semi-Byzantine and patriarchal Moscow with "a window on the West", by creating a superficially Westernized upper class, and thus brought Russia on to the Western scene.

A glance at map 36 reveals that the West has consolidated itself externally as well as internally. Crete (the ultimate fatherland of El Greco, who had gone via the Venice of Tintoretto to mystical Toledo) was lost by Venice to the Turks, but John Sobieski of Poland releived beleaguered Vienna, and shortly afterwards Hungary and Transylvania were liberated for good. The Crescent dation of an English colony in America, they began the history of the United

Moon was on the wane. On the Northern fringe of the West, Sweden and Poland were at their zenith. Spain, drifting further and further into bankruptcy, was no longer a military force. Though she held intact her enormous overseas empire and did not yield and inch of ground to the new sea-explorers, the English and the Dutch, her dominion over two oceans was a thing of the past. Little Portugal, independent of Spain after 1640, gradually lost almost all her possessions in Asia, whereas the Dutch occupied not only Java and the Moluccas but also the eastern tip of Brazil. The West spread itself irresistibly over the world. After the colonial "settlement" of the two Iberian nations there came the colonial "exploitation" of Holland and England. It was these two latter countries which undertook the exploration of the remote corners of the globe and recorded them on the map - an atlas of 1700 might not have been so complete as one of ours, but it was certainly as accurate. Also at this period the Russian trappers, fishermen, farmers and monks spread the pattern of peaceful colonization across Siberia, and by 1639 they had reached the Sea of Okhotsk. The French founded a "Nouvelle France" on the banks of the St Lawrence in Canada, reconnoitred the Great Lakes and the Mississippi and founded New Orleans. In 1620 the Pilgrim Fathers sailed from Plymouth, bound for "New England", to find religious freedom; by their foun-



Till well into the XVIIth cent. Italy, and especially Rome, was the leading place for ecclesiastical architecture. 759/ Vicenza, Teatro Olimpico. Constructed by Scamozzi to the designs of Palladio. Palladio is the principal theoretician of classical architecture in this period, and examples of his work abound in Vicenza. 760/ Parma, Teatro Farnese; by Giambattista Aleotti (1618). 761/ Turin, Castello del Valentino. Centre of façade, mid-XVIIth cent. 762/ Padua. Benedictine abbey church of Santa Giustina. Compare this fine Renaissance interior of 1502 with the Baroque interiors on the opposite page; here everything is static, there it is dynamic. 763/ Monument to St. Pius V, built by Domenico Fontana under Sixtus V in Sta. Maria Magglore, Rome. 1585-1591. 764/ Rome, Vatican Library, Sala Sistina. Stateroom, also by Fontana. The decoration is for the most part of a later date. 765/ Rome, St. Peter's. The narthex; by Carlo Maderna, 1606-1626.

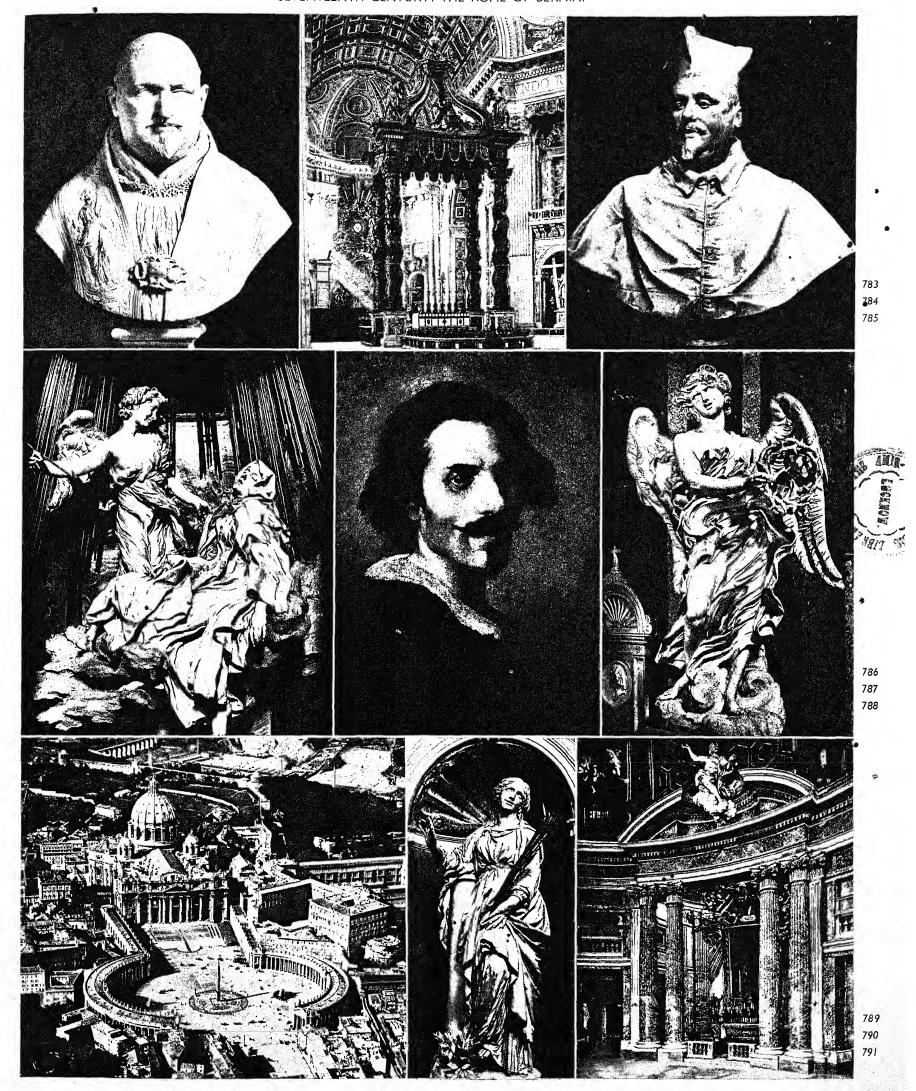


The innumerable Seicento churches, the fountains and here and there the street planning, show that Rome, in her older quarters, is a Baroque city. 766/ Sant' Agnese on the Piazza Navona; by Francesco Borromini, 1645-1650. 767/ SS. Martina e Luca, near the Forum; by Pietro da Cortona. 768/ S. Andrea della Valle, façade by Rainaldi, on the front of the older church. 769/ S. Andrea della Valle, 1591-1650. 770/ Sant' Ignazio. Next to the Gesù, this is the most prominent Jesuit church in Rome. Begun in 1626 by Orazio Grassi, after the plans of Domenichino. The false cupola has been damaged by fire and has not been restored. 771/ Transept of S. Andrea della Valle. Note the heavy pilasters and the rich sensuous decoration of the Seicento. 772/ S. Andrea al Quirinale, formerly church of the Jesuit noviciate. One of the masterpieces of Lorenzo Bernini (for interior see no. 791); façade 1678. 773/ Sant' Ignazio, choir (cf. no. 770).

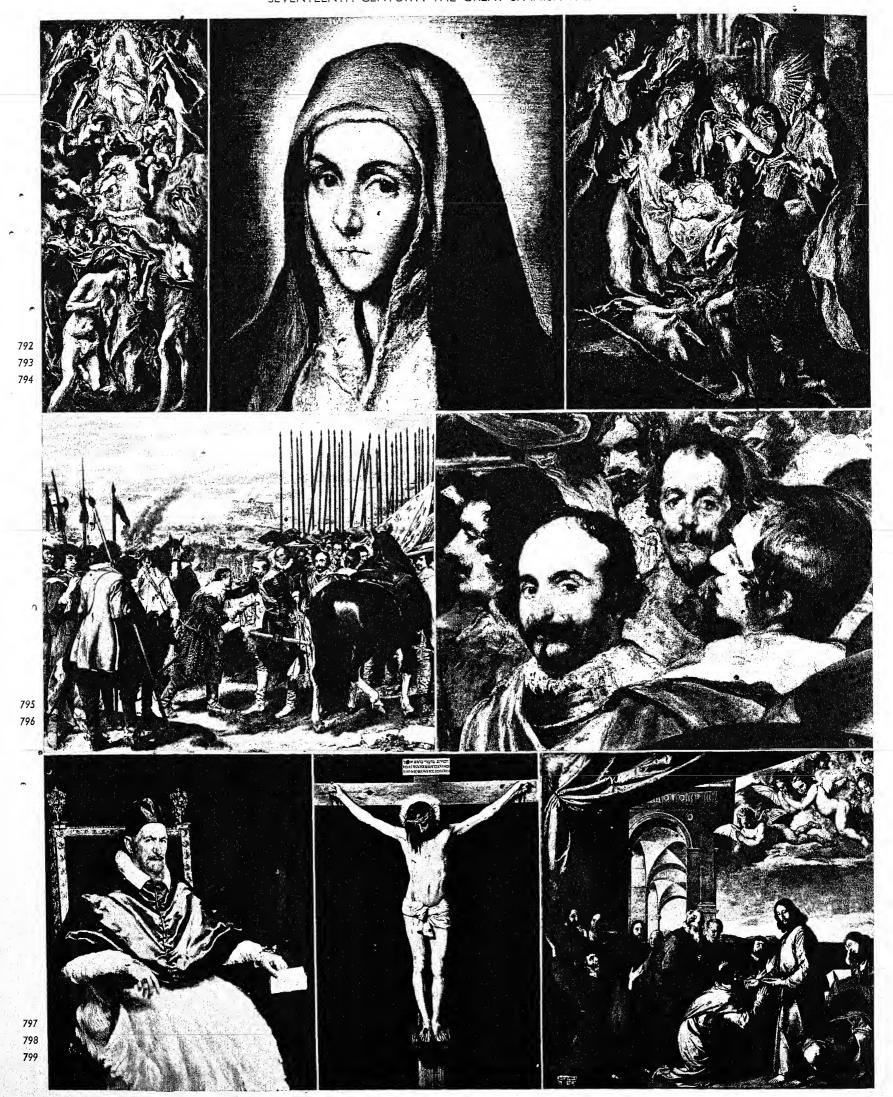


774/ Rome, Sant' Ivo and the interior of the Sapienza (university). The church is typical of the bizarre style of Francesco Borromini. 775/ Rome, SS. Gesù e Maria. Monument to the Bolognetti (over a confessional); by Cavallini. Shortly after 1650. 776/ Venice, Sta. Maria della Salute; by Baldassare Longhena, 1631-1656. 777/ Parmigianino, Madonna and Angels. This 'manierist' religious painting of the XVIth cent. Florence. Pitti Palace. 778/ Rome, SS. Gesù e Maria; by Carlo Maderña, 1640. 779/ Andrea Sacchi, St. Romuald, founder of the Camaldoli, sees his disciples ascending to Heaven. Vatican, Pinakothek. 780/ The Descent from the Cross; by Federigo Baroccio († 1612), one of the creators of Baroque devotional art. Perugia, Cathedral. 781/ Baciccio, St. Ignatius in glory. Detail from the ceiling of the Gesù, Rome (1668-1683).

[cf. map 36]



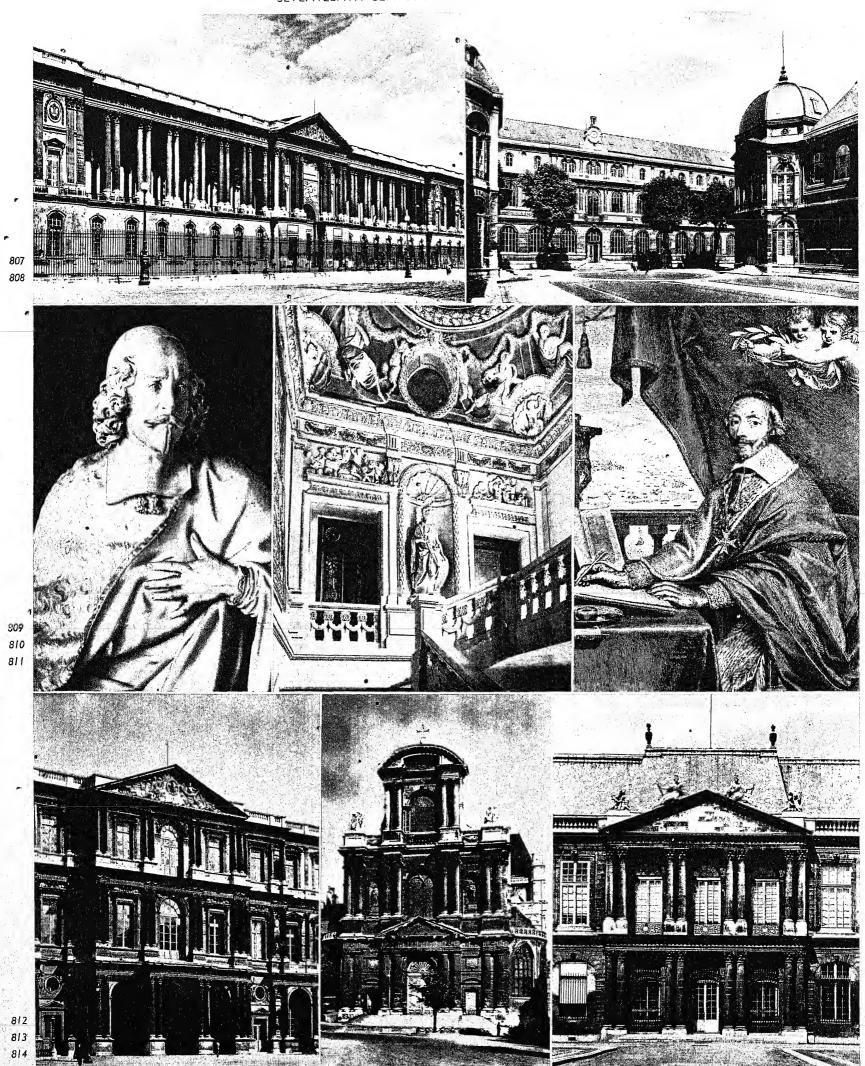
Bernini is the great master of the Roman Seicento. He has left his mark as architect, engineer, town-planner and sculptor on the Rome of Urban VIII, and he is the representative of the most dynamic and picturesque phase of Italian Baroque. 783/ Pope Paul V, Galleria Borghese. 784/ St. Peter's. Baldachino over the high altar, 1623-1632. 785/ Cardinal Scipione Borghese, Galleria Borghese. 786/ Ecstasy of St. Teresa of Avila. Centrepiece of a sculpture in the chapel of S. Maria della Vittoria. 787/ Self-portrait. Galleria Borghese. 788/ Angel with Crown of Thorns (model for one of the statues on the Bridge of Angels over the Tiber). S. Andrea della Valle. 789/ St. Peter's Square; the colonnade dates from 1653-1666. The fountains (1610) and façade (1610-1626) are by Maderna. 790/ Sta. Bibiana, statue in church of the same name. 791/ S. Andrea al Quirinale, interior. A small, oval church with cupola (cf. no. 772), [cf. map 36]



At the moment when Spain's political influence was on the wane, her arts blossomed as never before. The most outstanding figure in the reign of Philip II is El Greco, a Greek born in Crete, apprenticed to Tintoretto in Venice, and later established at Toledo. For an idea of his earlier manner, see nos. 713 and 715, and for his later manner see nos. 792 and 794. He was virtually rediscovered by the Impressionists. 792/ The Baptism of Christ; 794/ Detail from a Nativity. Both works are at Rome, Galleria Corsini. 793/ The Virgin Mary. Strasbourg. After 1600 Velazquez is the dominating figure. He is the man of 'pure' painting, in fact the Spanish Hals. 795-796/ The Surrender of Breda. Madrid, Prado. 797/ Pope Innocent X. Rome. Palazzo Dorla. 798/ Crucifixion. Madrid, Prado. He is surrounded by a number of other great figures, including Zurbaran, Ribera and Murillo. 799/ Ribera, Communion of the Apostles, Naples, Charterhouse of San Martino.



800/ Detail from 'Los Borrachos' (The Drinkers), by Velázquez. Madrid, Prado. 801/ Detail from the Forge of Vulcan; by Velázquez. Madrid, Prado. 802/ Zurbarán, Franciscan Friar in meditation. London, National Gallery. Francisco Zurbarán (1598-1662) combines mysticism with realism in his sublime yet restrained pictures of saints and religious. 803/ St. Bruno, founder of the Carthusian order; by Montañes, one of the great masters of polychrome wood-carving in XVIIth century Spain. Seville, Museo Provincial. 804/ St. Thomas of Villanova healing a cripple; by Murillo, 1678; painted for the Augustinians of Seville. Munich, Old Pinakothek. 805/ Ribera, St. Mary Magdalene doing penance in the grotto of Stee Baume. An example of Chiaroscuro. Rome, Galleria Borghese. 806/ Zurbarán, S. Bruno in audience with Pope Urban II. Seville, Museo Provincial. [cf. map 36]

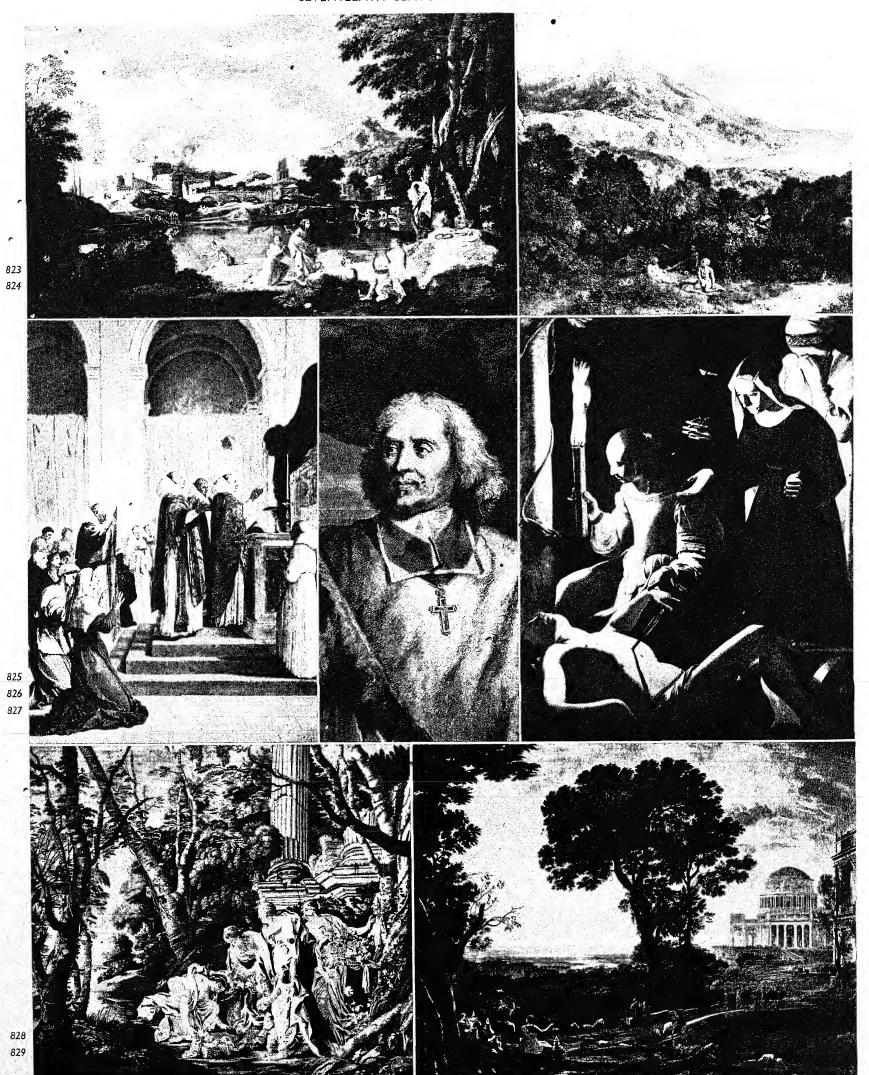


The Grand Siècle in France presents a spectacle of cold and rational splendour, graceful yet self-controlled. When one thinks of Italy, it is difficult to speak of French 'Baroque'; French 'Classicism' is perhaps a better definition. The men of the period had the consciousness that they lived in an age that was formative and definitive both in the arts and in letters. All the illustrations here are from Paris, which at this period plays a decisive centralizing rôle in French cultural development. 807/ The Louvre, colonnade by Perrault. 808/ Hôtel de Soubise, rear view. 809/ CoysevCx, Cardinal Mazarin. Detail from funeral monument. The Louvre. 810/ Hôtel de Lauzun (Ile St.-Louis), stairway. 1650-1680. 811/ Cardinal Richelieu. Engraving by Meillan. 812/ Detail from one of the façades of the Louvre. 813/ Church of Sts. Gervase and Protase, façade by Salomon de Brosse, 1616-1621. 814/ Hôtel de Soubise, centrepiece of façade by Delamair. 1705-1709.

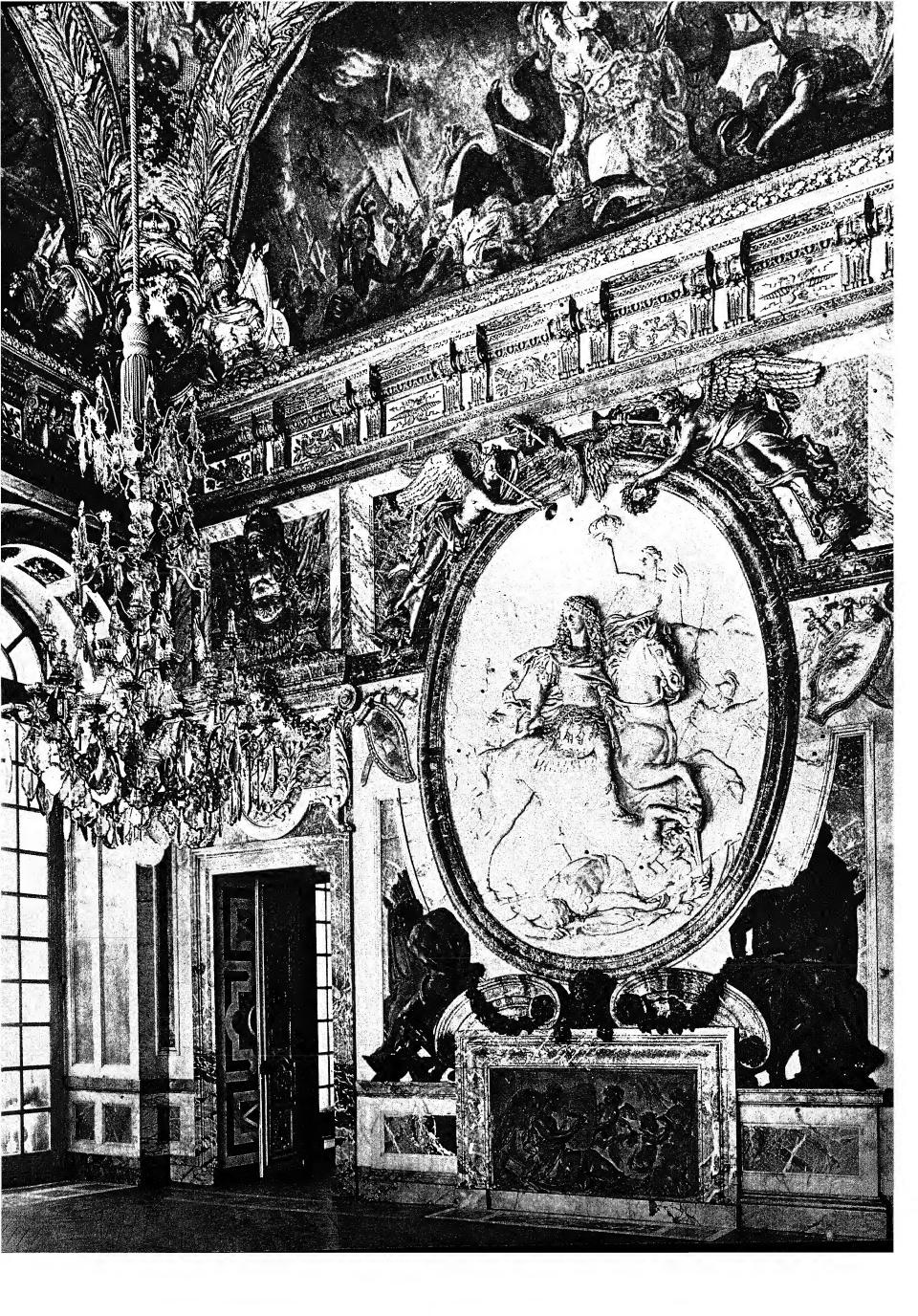


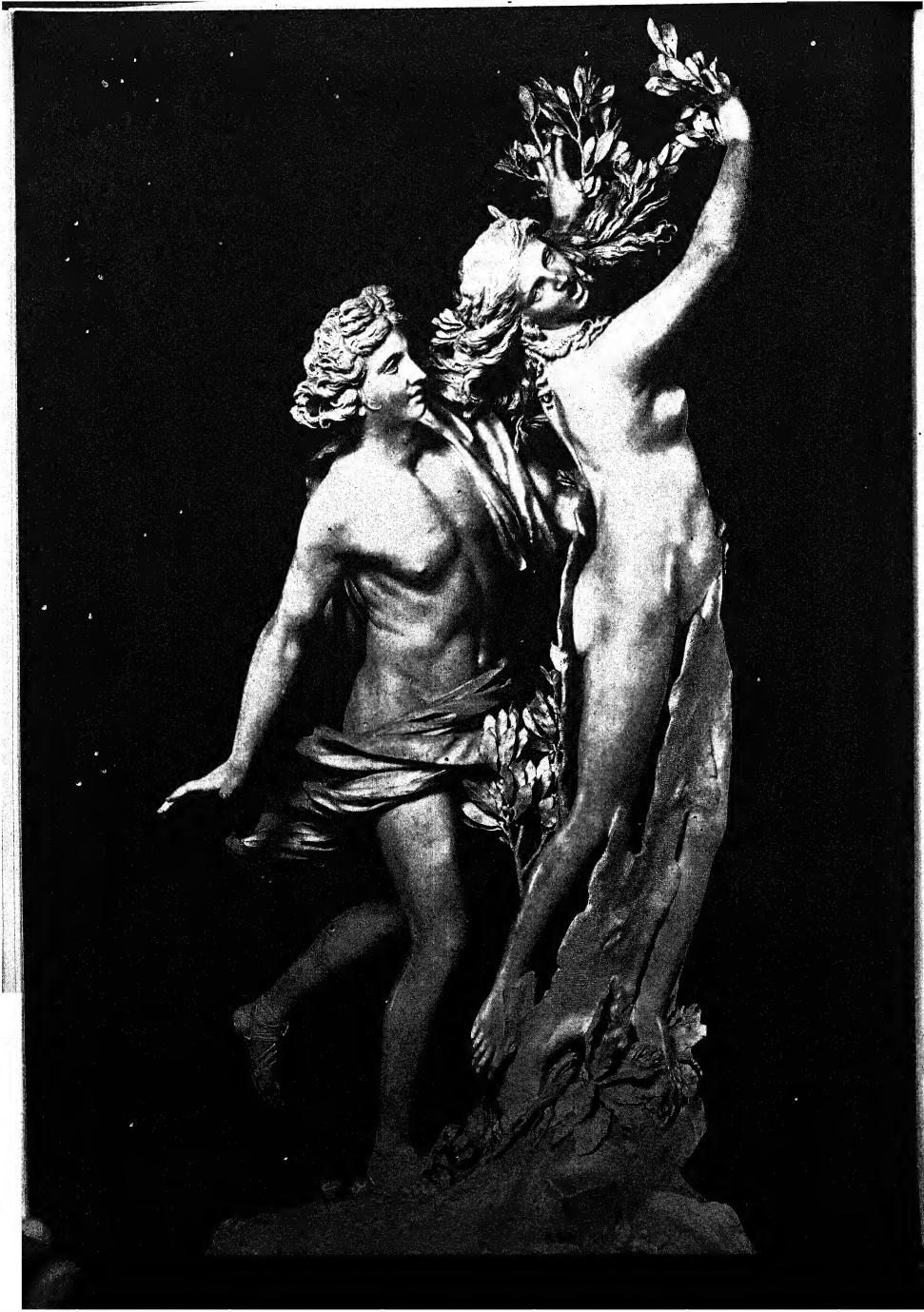
Under Louis XIV France dominated the West in arts and letters. The centres were the Court and the capital. Classical French art coincides with the zenith of absolutist monarchy. 815/ Les Invalides, from the air: the Church of St. Louis (with cupola), and the Hôtel; by Jules Hardouin Mansart. 816/ Part of the Palace of Versailles. 817/ Interior of Val-de-Grâce. Compare this interior with the contemporary Roman churches shown on p. 155. 818/ State portrait of Louis XIV; by Hyacinthe Rigaud. The Louvre. 819/ Side-wall of the chapel at Versailles; by Mansart. In its combination of nobility and subtlety this is one of the finest interiors in the world. 820/ Palace of Versailles, Chambre de la Reine. 821/ Bust of Lebrun; by Coysevox (The Louvre). Lebrun was responsible for the greater part of the interior decoration of Versailles. 822/ Apartments in the Hôtel de Lauzun.

[cf. map 36]



Though lacking in spontaneity even at its best, French painting in the Grand Siècle is also notable for its combination of grandeur, simplicity and subtlety. 823/ Nicolas Poussin, Orpheus and Euridice. Paris, the Louvre. 824/ Millet, Italian Landscape. 825/ Le Sueur, 'The Mass of St. Martin of Tours' (a ball of fire appeared above his head. Before the Mass he had given his under-garment to a beggar). Paris, the Louvre. 826/ Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux (1627-1704). Religious orator, ecclesiastical politician and one of the great writers of French peose. After a portrait by Rigaud. 827/ Georges de la Tour, St. Sebastian found by the Holy Women. Berlin. 828/ Moses in the Bulrushes. Tapestry made at the Louvre, 2nd half of XVIIth cent., after a cartoon by Simon Vouet. 829/ Claude Lorrain, The Sacrifice to Apollo. Opposite page 830/ Palace of Versailles, Salon de la Guerre. Coysevox and Lebrun, 1678.

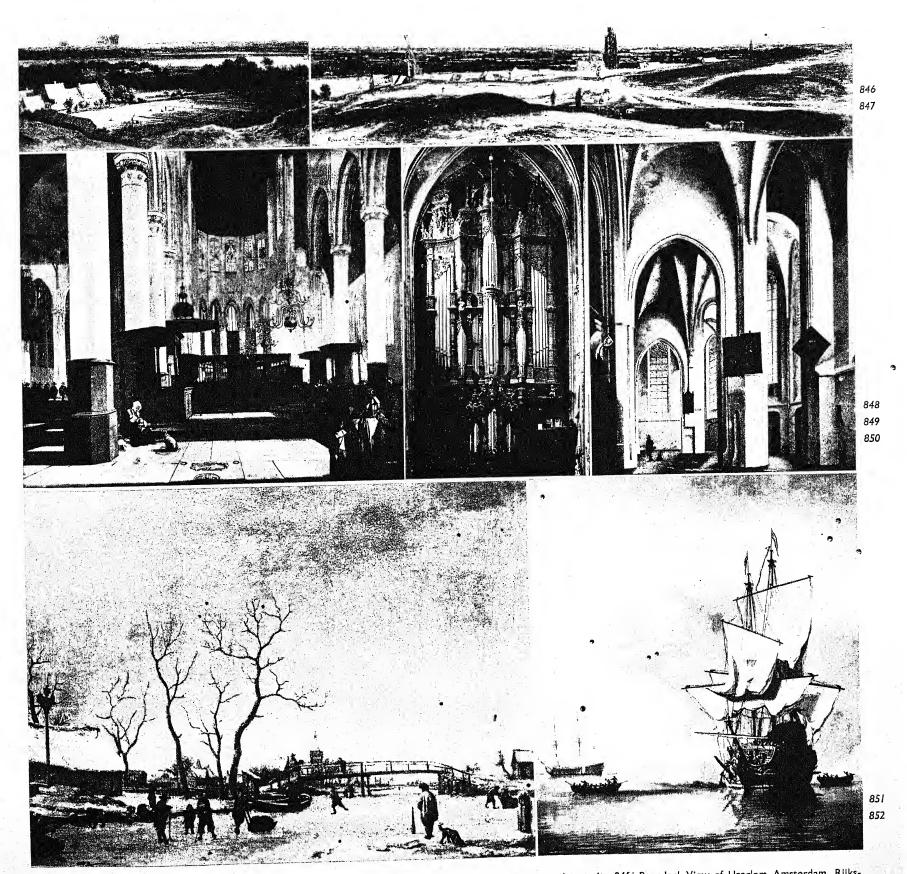




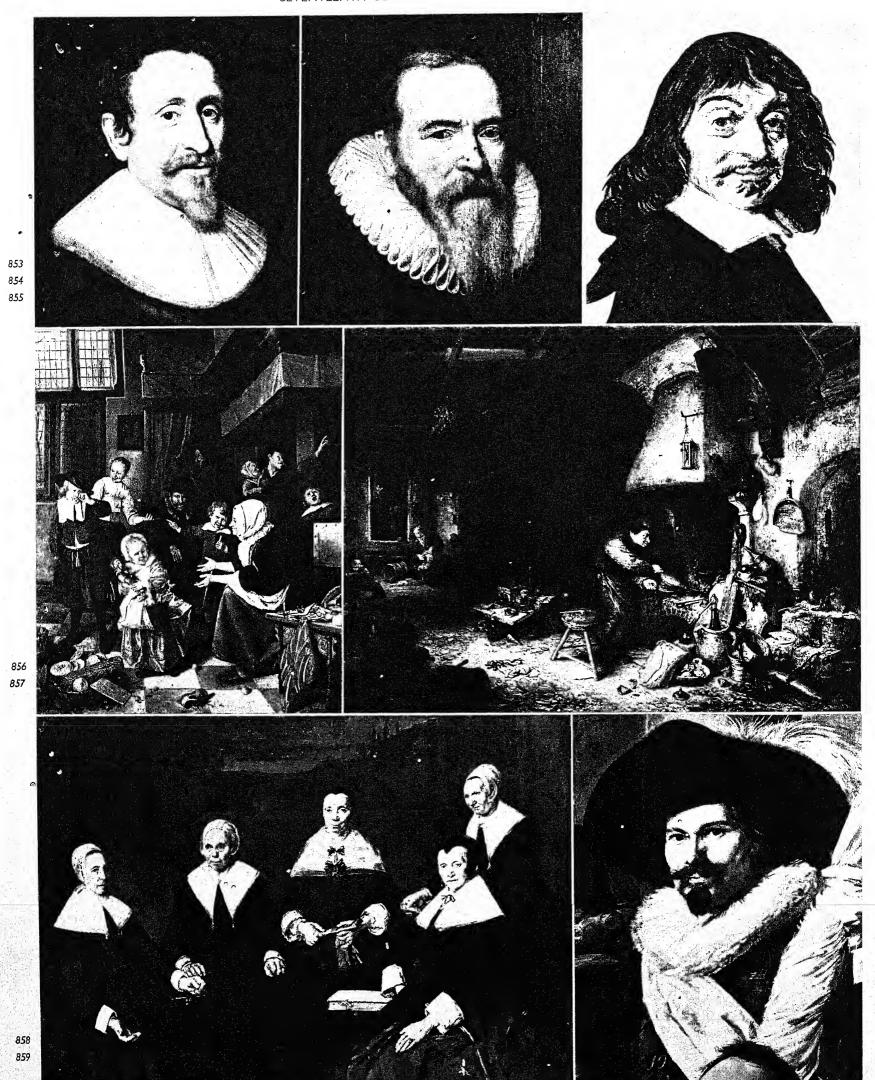


In the XVIIth century the Netherlands are divided. The southern half, formerly the richer of the two, is now the poorer, but none the less it represents the northern tip of European Baroque In the XVIIth century the Netherlands are divided. The southern half, formerly the richer of the two, is now the poorer, but none the less it represents the northern tip of European Baroque In the XVIIth century the Netherlands are divided. The southern half, formerly the richer of the two, is now the poorer, but none the less it represents the northern tip of European Baroque In the XVIIth century the Netherlands are divided. The southern half, formerly the richer of the brensents the northern tip of European Baroque In the XVIIth century the Netherlands are divided. The southern half, formerly the richer of the brensents the northern tip of European Baroque In the XVIIth century the Netherlands are divided. The southern half, formerly the richer of Rubens. 832/ Jordaens, The Boatmen of the Scheldt. Copenhagen. culture. The two decisive factors in its development are the court of the Archdukes at Brussels and the international figure of Rubens. 832/ Jubens, Christ pierced with the Lance, 1620 Antwerp. 833/ Rubens, Christ pierced with the Lance, 1620 Antwerp. 833/ Rubens, Christ pierced with the Lance, 1620 Antwerp. 833/ Rubens, Christ pierced with the Lance, 1620 Antwerp. 833/ Rubens, Christ pierced with the Lance, 1620 Antwerp. 833/ Rubens, Christ pierced with the Lance, 1620 Antwerp. 833/ Rubens, Christ pierced with the Lance, 1620 Antwerp. 833/ Rubens, Christ pierced with the Lance, 1620 Antwerp. 833/ Rubens, Christ pierced with the Lance, 1620 Antwerp. 833/ Rubens, Christ pierced with the Lance, 1620 Antwerp. 833/ Rubens, Christ pierced with the Lance, 1620 Antwerp. 833/ Rubens, Christ pierced with the Lance, 1620 Antwerp. 833/ Rubens, Christ pierced with the Lance, 1620 Antwerp. 833/ Rubens, Christ pierced with the Lance, 1620 Antwerp. 833/ Rubens, Christ pierced with the Lance, 1620 Antwerp. 833/ Rubens, Christ pierce

With but one exception, all the illustrations on the following five pages are taken from Dutch paintings of the XVIIth cent. In no other country are painters so much concerned with everyday reality and so little with mythological, courtly or religious subjects, and their work thus provides us with an unforgettable impression of that unique community, 'The Republic of the United Provinces'. 840/ G. Berkheyde, The Raadhuis, Amsterdam (architect J. van Campen). Brussels. 841/ Jan van der Heyden, The Herengracht, Amsterdam. London, Collection of Messrs. Duits. 842/ J. A. Berckheyde, The Old Exchange, Amsterdam. Ca. 1670. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans. 843/ The Glass of Wine; by Vermeer (1659). Berlin. 844/ Jan van Goyen, View of Leiden (1650). Leiden, Lakenhal. 845/ Vermeer, View of Delft (1658). The Hague, Mauritshuis.



The principal themes of the XVIIth cent. Dutch painters are interiors, still lifes, views of towns, landscapes, seascapes and portraits. 846/ Ruysdael, View of Haarlem. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 847/ Hêrcules Seghers, View of a town on a river (probably Rhenen on the Rhine). Berlin. 848/ Emmanuel de Witte, Interior of the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam. Dark and sombre museum. 847/ Hêrcules Seghers, View of a town on a river (probably Rhenen on the Rhine). Berlin. 848/ Emmanuel de Witte, Interior of the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam. Dark and sombre furnishings contrasting with the white walls and pillars, and the whole under a dark wooden roof; instead of decoration we have the play of light and shade. 849/ Organ in the Church of furnishings contrasting with the white walls and pillars, and the whole under a dark wooden roof; instead of decoration we have the play of light and shade. 849/ Organ in the Church of furnishings contrasting with the white walls and pillars, and the whole under a dark wooden roof; instead of decoration we have the play of light and shade. 849/ Organ in the Church of furnishings contrasting with the white walls and pillars, and the whole under a dark wooden roof; instead of decoration we have the play of light and shade. 849/ Organ in the Church of furnishings contrasting with the white walls and pillars, and the whole under a dark wooden roof; instead of decoration we have the play of light and shade. 849/ Organ in the Church of furnishings contrasting with the white walls and pillars, and the whole under a dark wooden roof; instead of decoration we have the play of light and shade. 849/ Organ in the Church of furnishings contrasting with the white walls and pillars, and the whole under a dark wooden roof; instead of decoration we have the play of light and shade. 849/ Organ in the Church of furnishings contrasting with the white walls and pillars, and the whole under a dark wooden roof; instead of decoration we have the play of light and shade. 849/ Organ in the Church of furnishings contrasting with th



853/ Hugo Grotius; by Michel van Mierevelt (ca. 1631). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 854/ Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, the State Pensionary of Holland; by Michel van Mierevelt. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 855/ René Descartes, the French philosopher who spent many years in Holland; by Frans Hals, 1649. Copenhagen, State Museum. 856/ Jan Steen, 'Sinterklaas-avond'. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. On the 6th of December, the feast of St. Nicholas, the saint is traditionally supposed to come from Spain with presents for the Dutch children. The custom is still observed today. 857/ A. J. van Ostade, The Alchemist (1661). London, National Gallery. 858/ Frans Hals, The Regentesses of the Hospice for the Aged at Haarlem (1664). The celebrated satirical portrait of bourgeois ladies engaged in charitable work. 859/ Detail from 'The Officers of the St. Joris Sharpshooters Company', by Frans Hals (1627). Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum (which besides this picture and no. 858 contains a great number of Hals's masterpieces).



No Dutch name is so well known as that of Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn (1606-1669). Among the innumerable painters of the XVIIth cent. he stands out as a unique and lonely figure, who went his own way not only in his artistic work but also in his private life. He owes his fame to posterity, and above all to the XIXth cent. 860/ The Flight into Egypt; by Pieter Lastman, Rembrandt's teacher. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans. 861/ Self-portrait, at the age of twenty-eight (1634). Berlin. 862/ Jeremias weeping over the Destruction of Jerusalem. 863/ Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels, Rembrandt's second wife. 864/ The Ascension (1636). Munich, Old Pinakothek. 865/ Portrait of Rembrandt's son Titus (ca. 1656). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. 866/ The Preaching of St. John the Baptist (ca. 1635-1637). Berlin. 867/ The Mennonite pastor Cornelis Claesz. Anslo, consoling a Woman (1641). Berlin.



Three Dutch poets: 868/ Hooft, by Michel van Mierevelt. University of Amsterdam. 869/ Huygens, by Caspar Netscher (1672). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 870/ Vondel, by Govert Flinck. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

States. Thus the icons came to Irkutsk, the Bible to Pennsylvania, and the Salve Regina to Canada. The cloves and spices came to Amsterdam, virtually the chief shipping centre for the merchant fleets of the world, and also till 1700 the first financial clearing-house, a primacy which it later yielded to London.

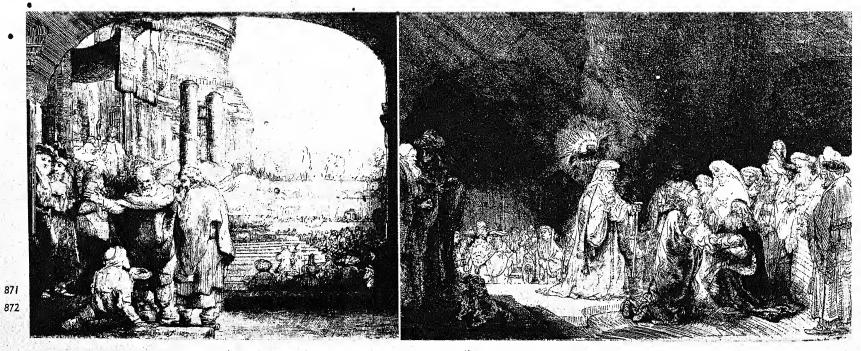
Seventeenth century culture comprised such diverse elements as French $795\,$ classical tragedy and the first Italian operas; the works of Velázquez, Ribera 806/829 and Zurbarán, the engravings of Callot and the landscapes of Claude Lorrain; 855 the fountains of Bernini and the patrician houses of Amsterdam; the discoveries of Galilei, Newton and Harvey, and the philosophy of Descartes. Yet all this developed within a common atmosphere and a similar framework: the framework was absolute monarchy by Divine Right (with the exception of the Butch Republic), and the atmosphere was the world-embracing Baroque, stretching as it did from Mexico to Cracow and Kiev.

Absolute monarchy, the typical political form of the period, is the direct predecessor of the modern state. It differs from the free hierarchical society of the XIIIth century as a nation differs from a city. In the Grand Siècle there still existed in France a certain regional autonomy, and the privileges of clergy and nobility remained intact, though only by the prerogative of a monarchy ruling by Divine Right. But the era of bourgeois rebellion, of religious faction and of the Fronde has passed.

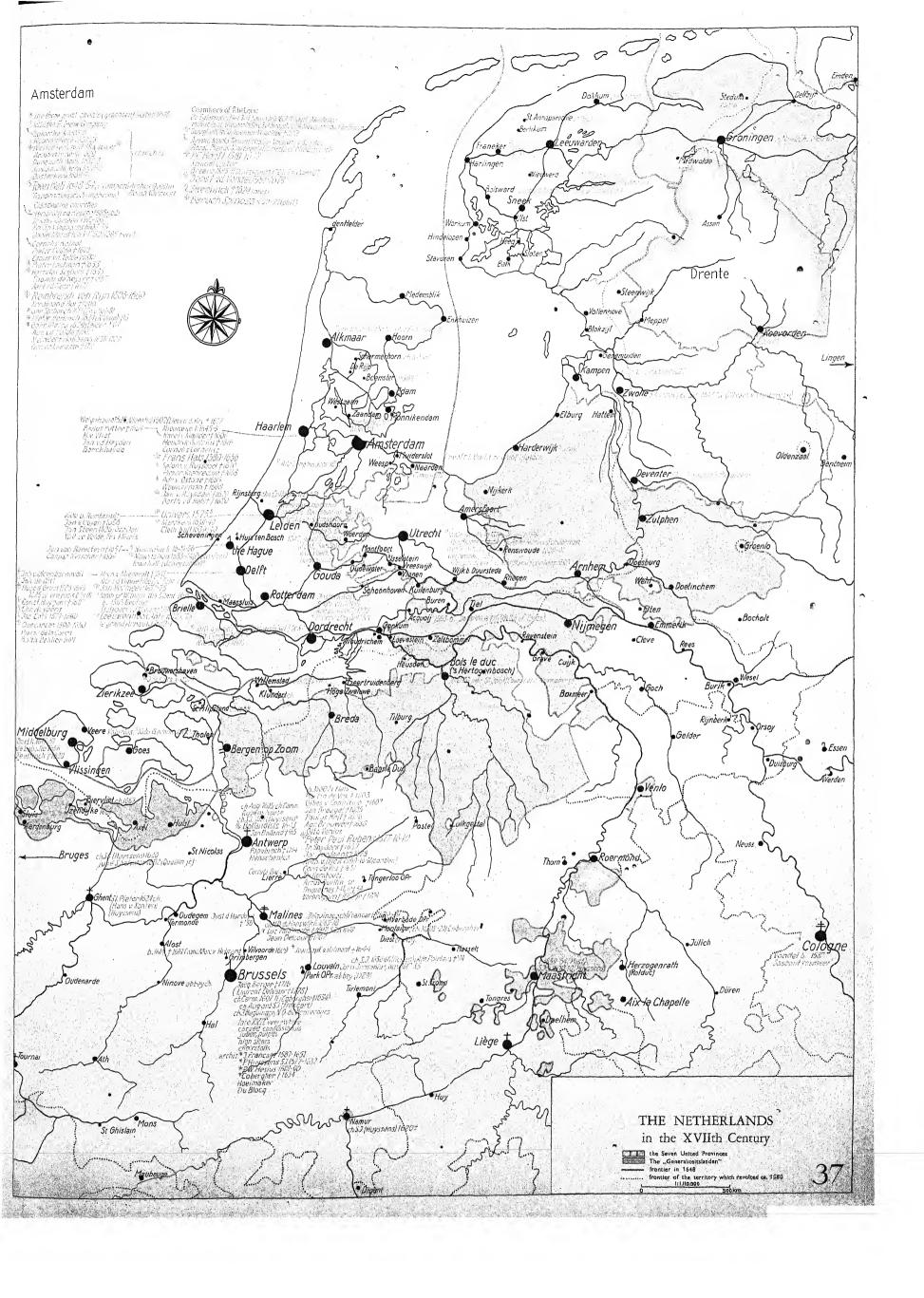
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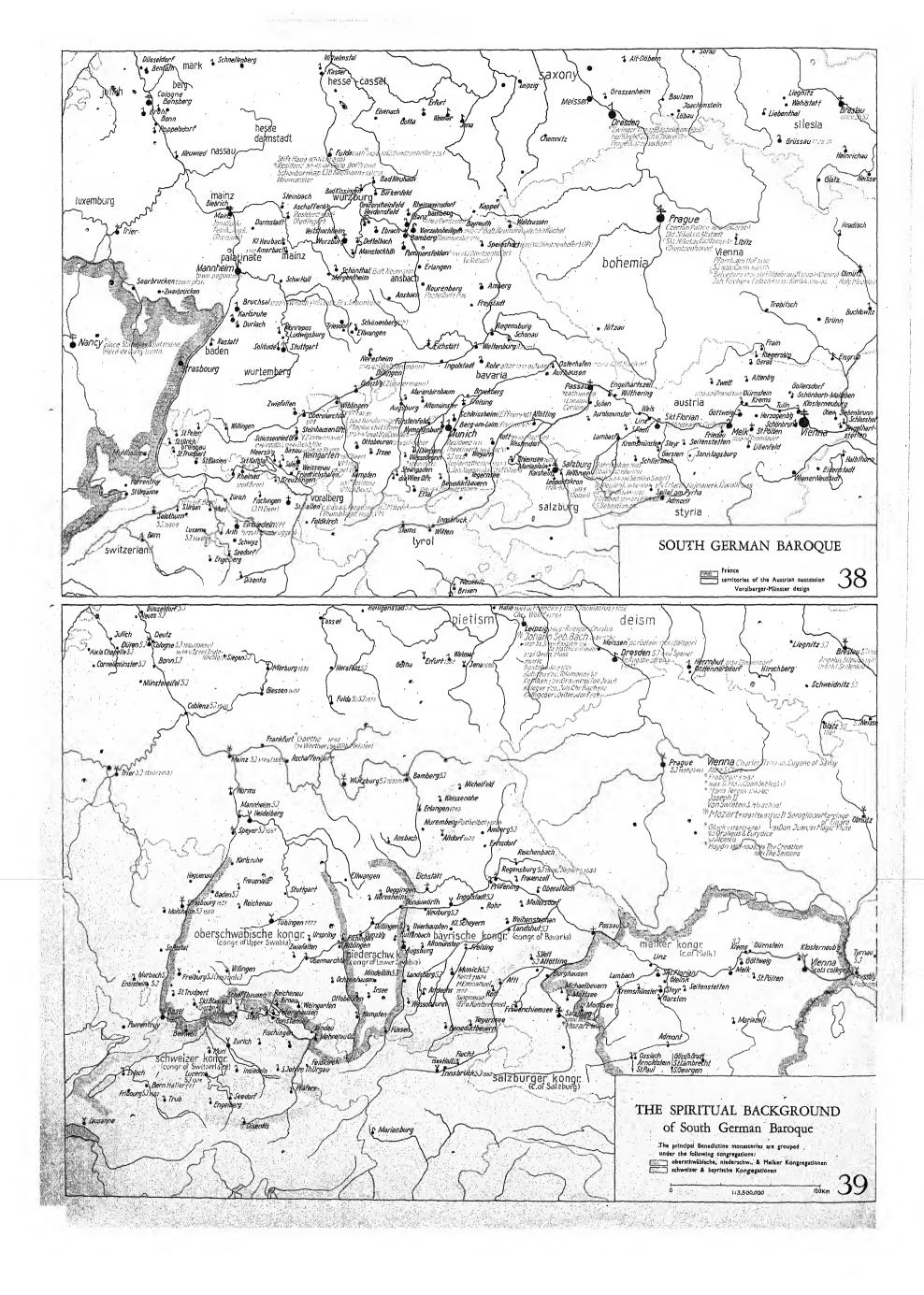
The State - and I am the State, said Louis XIV - maintained an enormous Court, and held there at its behest the nobility and a large part of the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries. The State set the tone in taste and in morals; it protected industry (under the mercantile policy of Colbert), gave monopolies to the commercial companies, and maintained a fleet by sea and an army by land. It was the State which commissioned Vauban to put the art of war on a scientific basis, and which reaped the benefits of the victories of Condé and Turenne. The State linked the Loire with the Saone and the Garonne with the Mediterranean, decided the issues of war and peace, and did not hesitate to set Europe in flames either for dynastic reasons or merely for personal glory. It was praised by even the sincerest of poets, and it organized artistic life and taste by means of the Academies. It was a zealous guardian of religion, but gave abbeys in commendam and nominated the bishops. The delegated task of the episcopate, who included Bossuet, the leading orator and prose-writer of the kingdom, was jealously to guard the liberties of the Gallican Church, and yet at the same time to preserve carefully the link with Rome - as the Jansenists and Port-Royal were to find to their cost. Further than that the history of the West, in France as clsewhere, is concerned not so much with ideas as with national budgets.

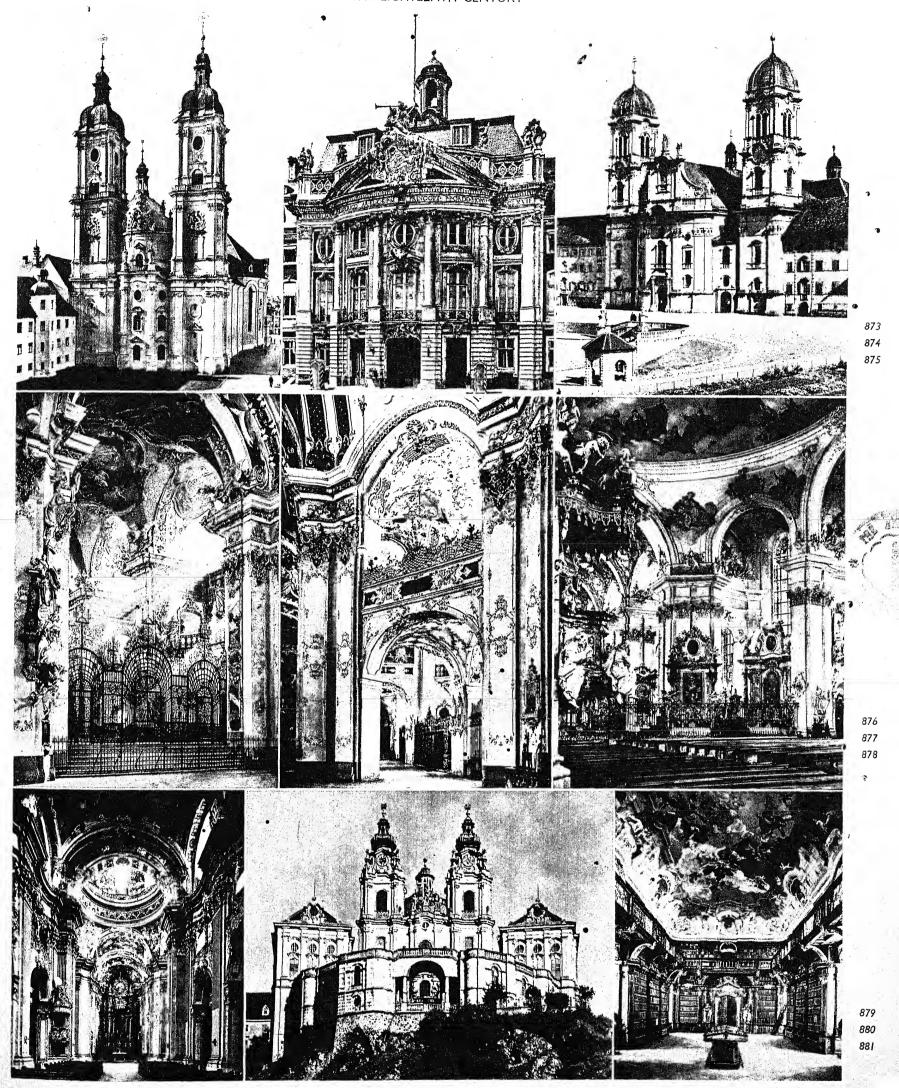
The monarch decided everything, including the question of religion. Confessional boundaries, stabilized by 1648, coincide with national frontiers.



871/ Rembrandt, Sts. Peter and John and the paralytic at the gate of the Temple. Etching, 1659. 872/ Rembrandt, The Presentation in the Temple. Etching, ca. 1640. [cf. map 36].







Around 1700 there is an awakening of the German genius in the fields of music and architecture. The last phase of Baroque is represented in Rococo. The major works are constructed between 1700 and 1760 and are to be found principally in South Germany: they comprise residencies, abbeys and sumptuous churches. The homogeneous town-plans of cities like Vienna, Prague and Dresden date from this period. 873/ Saint-Gall, the cathedral. 874/ Munster, residence, by Schlaun, 1767. 875/ Einsiedeln, abbey-church (façade). 876/ Einsiedeln, choir of abbey-church. 877/ Einsiedeln, lateral nave in abbey-church. Example of the 'Vorarlberger Münsterschema': a 'Hallenkirche' with tribunes above the lateral naves and with a dominating central cupola. 878/ Saint-Gall, cathedral. 879-81/ Abbey of Melk, mother-house of a German Benedictine congregation. The masterpiece of Prandauer. Centre: principal façade between two lateral wings; left: the church; right: the library.

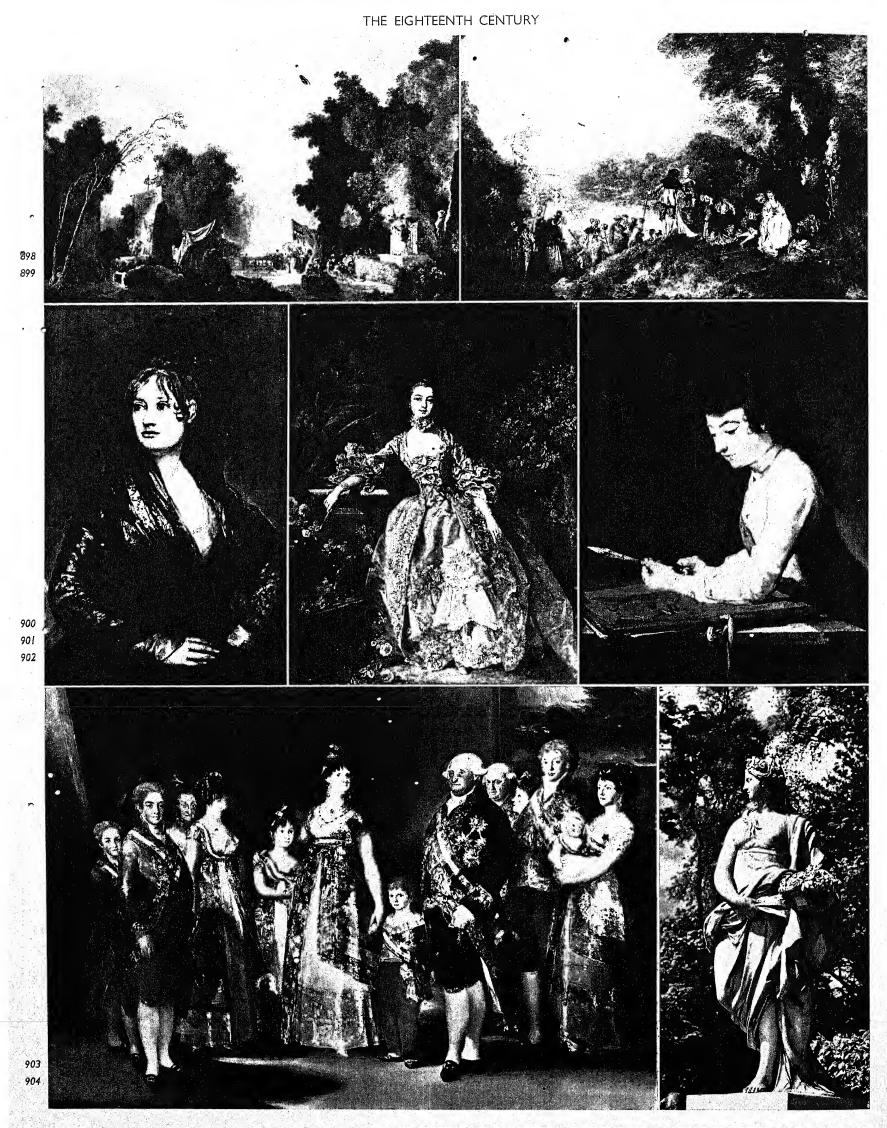
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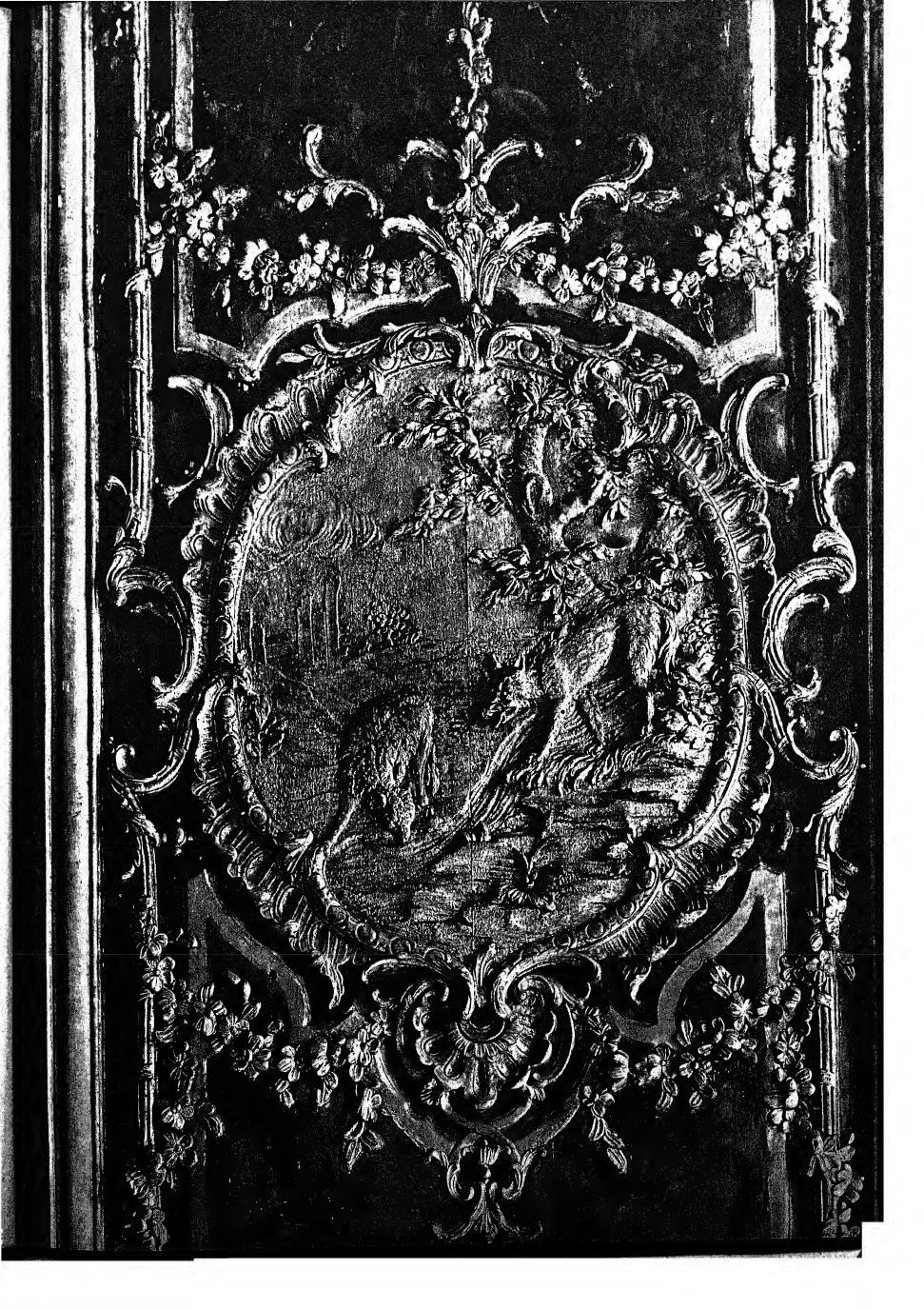
882/ Vienna, the Belvedere. 883/ St. James of Compostella. West-front built in XVIIIth cent. in front of the old romanesque pilgrim-church. Example of the 'churrigueresco' style. 884/ Pilgrim-church 'Die Wies', near Steingaden: one of the masterpieces of Zimmermann, 1746-1754. 885/ Benedictine abbey-church at Neresheim, by Balthasar Neumann, 1745-1792. One of the largest interiors of this period; the somewhat frigid classical decoration dates from about 1800. 886/ Staircase in the Château de Brühl, residence of the Prince-Elector Archbishop of Cologne. One of the finest interiors of the Rococo period, 887/ Venetian Masqueraders, by Pietro Longhi. Bergamo, Accademia Carrara. 888/ 'Man killed by the serpents, raising [cf. maps 38-40] his eyes to the Brazen Serpent'. Detail from frieze in the Academy at Venice. By Tiepolo, the greatest painter of the Settecento.



889/ The Superga, near Turin, masterpiece of the Piedmontese architect F. Juvara; already slightly classical. 890/ Ste. Geneviève at Paris (since 1791 the Panthéon). By Soufflot, who wished to combine the lightness of Gothic with strictly classical forms. 891/ Versailles, the Grand Trianon, in the sober forms of early neo-classicism. 892/ Sens, cathedral. Detail of wrought-iron choir-screen of 1762, recently restored to its original place. 893/ Rome, St. John Lateran. Cappella Corsini (ca. 1735). By Alessandro Galilei, who also built the celebrated façade of this cathedral. 894/ Dordrecht, the Grote Kerk, copper choir-screen. 895/ Auch (Gers), west-front of the cathedral (1670-1680) built in front of the XIVth cent. Gothic nave. Example of the continuity of French taste. 896/ Convent-church of Ocotepec, near Tepotzlan, Mexico. Example of Mexican provincial church. 897/ Lima, Peru. Archiepiscopal palace. [cf. maps 40-41]



A grace and a gaiety sometimes bordering on the frivolous are the hall-marks of French painting in the XVIIIth century. The seriousness of the Grand Siècle has departed. But at the same time there appears in painters like Watteau and Fragonard the first purely tonal painting, and in Chardin and others we may find a new and subtle feeling for the intimate. The greatest figure, however towards the end of the century, is that of the Spaniard Goya y Lucientes - visionary, moving, and bitterly realistic. 898/ Fragonard, 'La Fête de Saint-Cloud'. 899/ Watteau, 'L'Embarquement pour Cythère'. Paris, Louvre. 900/ Goya, Portrait of Doña Isabel Cobos de Porcel. London, National Gallery. 901/ Boucher, Madame de Pompadour (ca. 1758). London, Wallace Collection. 902/ Chardin, 'Le Jeune Dessinateur' (1737). Berlin. 903/ Goya, Royal Family of Carlos IV. Madrid, Prado. Unsparing portrait of a royal family at the end of the Ancien Régime. 904/ 'Flora', by Falconet. Statue in the Gardens of Versailles. Opposite: 905/ The Fox and the Lamb. Rococo panel in the Hôtel de Rohan, Paris.







906/ Händel. 1757. London, National Gallery. 907/ Johann Sebastian Bach. Lithograph by C W. Mieling. The Hague, Gemeentemuseum. 908/ Mozart. Lithograph by G. J. Decker. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek [cf. map 36]

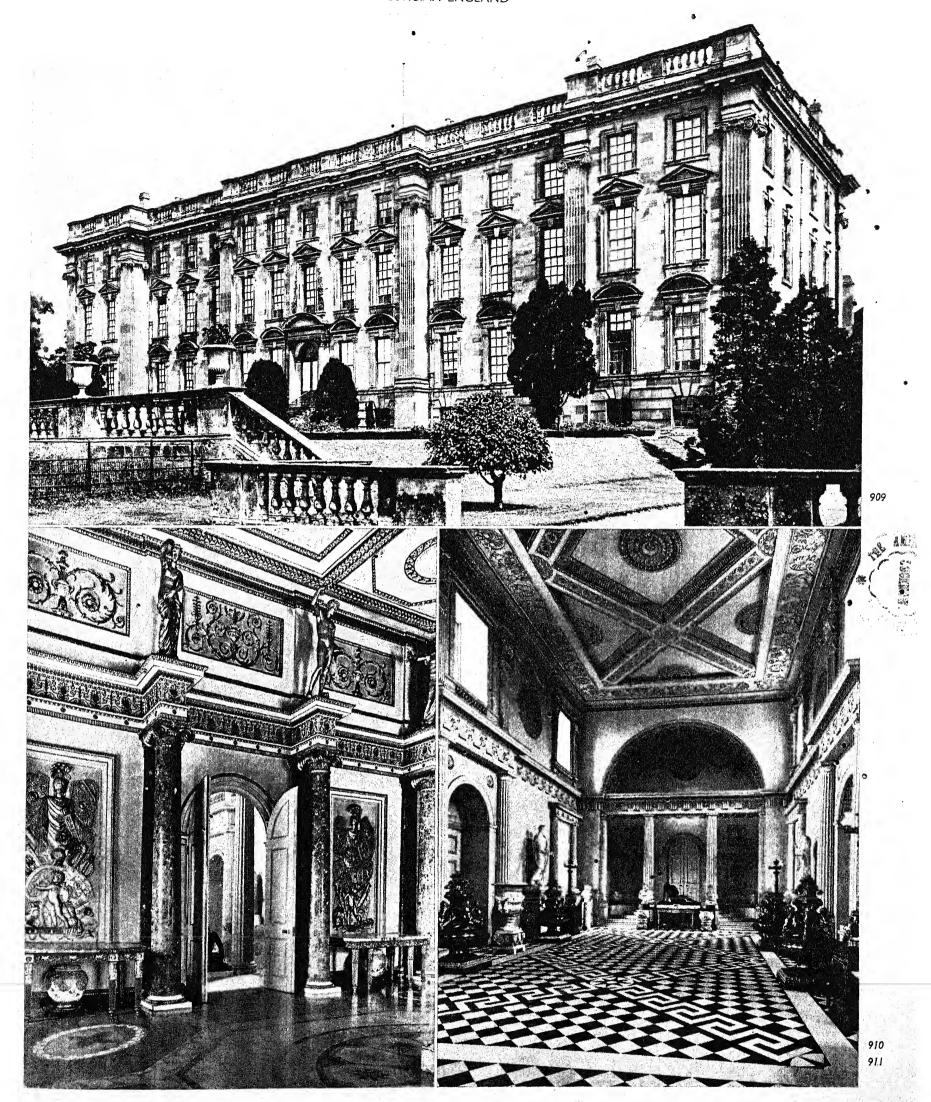
Louis XIV eventually revoked the Edict of Nantes, and the Huguenots consequently had to emigrate to Holland and Brandenburg. Faith is still a fundamental issue, officially at least, and so is the confessional status quo. The nonconformist churches applied the same criteria - as the Stuarts learned to their cost when they found that the Puritans did not shrink from regicide. Christina of Sweden had to leave her own country and live in exile at Rome after her conversion to Catholicism. Nevertheless, the century maintained fundamentally a deep faith. It is the age of the classic Anglican piety of the Caroline Divines and of Laud, and, by contrast, it is also the age of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, of Milton, and of Cromwell, and of the energetic but humourless Puritans. It is the age, too, of the incomparable revival of French spirituality, of Bérulle, Condren, Olier, and St. Vincent de Paul, the Pensées of Pascal 853 and the Elévations of Bossuet. We should also not forget that such figures as Descartes and Grotius, Bernini and Frescobaldi, Racine and Rubens, Galilei and Newton, are believers. Unbelievers like Hobbes and Spinoza, freethinkers like Rembrandt and the Socinians are exceptions that prove the rule. The favourite themes of the sensuous Baroque art of the period are personal contact with God and His saints, ecstasy, prayer, miracle and martyrdom.

But culture gradually emancipated itself - first in science and then in art. Both Catholic and Protestant Churches saw the independent growth of new fields of profane science, a development which boded ill for the old theocracy. However strange it may sound, it can be said that the atmosphere of the Baroque period is that of critical rationalism, even though it had to serve the turn of the magniloguent and theatrical artistic paraphernalia that was required by Church and Crown. The names of Boyle, Newton, Harvey, Christiaan Huygens, Van Leeuwenhoek, Pascal, Galilei and Torricelli, and so many others, serve to remind us both of the great progress of natural science and also of the great change which the world picture has now undergone. Almost all the great philosophers of the period are also great mathematicians 855 (though Locke is an exception), and it is significant that Newton and Leibniz share the honours for the discovery of the infinitesimal calculus. Proceeding from the concept of clear and distinct ideas, the system of René Descartes rested on the priority of thought over existence. It is thus the leading force in the rationalism of its time. But its constructive possibilities and its tendency to minimize the moments of existential reality make it also the precursor of the later idealist systems. Spinoza is the successor of Descartes, just as Bishop Berkeley of Cloyne follows Locke the cold empiricist and forerunner of the XVIIIth century.

Absolute monarchy demanded an art that was both representative and majestic, and yet also comprehensible, stimulating and popular; these conditions were fulfilled by international Baroque. It was in essence the Roman Early Baroque of 1530-1580, modified by marked national variants, and perfected as a purely intellectual process in the Versailles and the Paris of Louis XIV. A detailed examination of the map country by country will show that major architecture, town planning, and the principal forms of decoration, whether on religious subjects or contemporary interpretations of mythology, are on 815-29 the whole homogeneous, and follow the 'Italian' style. On the other hand, in the more intimate genres like cabinet-paintings miniatures, figurines and

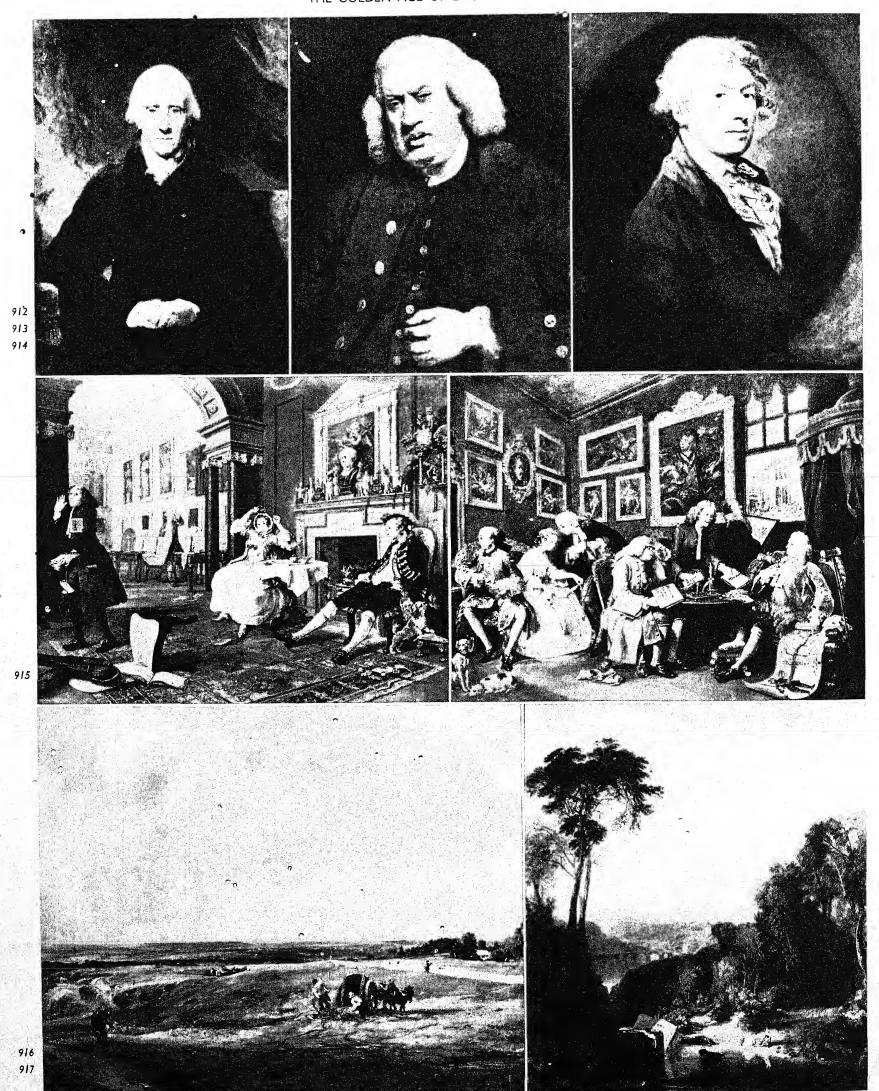
engravings, there are wide differences between one country and another. In general, however, the static, linear, loosely-knit and majestic harmony of the previous century - and of the Renaissance - is replaced by the flowing, dynamic, 'atmospheric', and contrived Baroque manner. Baroque fits everything. Velázquez, Rubens, Rembrandt and Poussin, Bernini and Coysevox; the 795-80 Square of St Peter's, the triumphant Rome of Urban VIII, and Versailles; 783-91 the commedia dell' arte, the first operas, and the voluminous clothing (including 835-38 the full-bottomed wig and other features to enhance the human silhouette) all these elements combine to form a single homogeneous picture of the period. Strictly speaking of course, Baroque is not a manner that achieves its great effects by haphazard and functionless forms. It reduced all arts once more into an order, and by its dynamic harmonization of opposites marks a virtual return to mediaeval expressionism. It is, as it were, a new 'Gothic', in sensuous Italian forms. The extravagant and startling detail disappears, and the total effect emerges in its own right. It is more than a question of an individual church, palace or piece of furniture; Baroque works in terms of whole complexes, firmly grouped around a central axis, in which buildings, gardens and environment interact upon each other. Baroque often affects the entire appearance of a city which, though not particularly outstanding for its individual monuments, can be made to form a grand visual unity like Prague or Vienna; the endless façades, wide terraces, squares, statues, fountains and stairways, are exploited to form a single picture dominated by domes crowned with festive lanterns and the silhouettes of spires and towers. Baroque interiors convey a condensed spatial effect; Baroque figures seem to be caught in a fleeting moment of life; Baroque painting moves slowly but surely from the plastic and formal towards the visual, the 'atmospheric', and the allusive, and from thence towards the themes which gave the least opportunity for emotional rhetoric - the landscape, the interior and the portrait. But in this ultimate process Baroque lost its very essence and became assimilated into the style of the following era.

'Under Louis XIV', wrote Bossuet, 'France began to know herself.' Of all the nations France became the most conscious of her mission, and in all her manifestations she saw herself primarily as an oeuvre de raison. She is conscious of her classicism, and prouder of her glorious present than of the sum of her past achievements. In the controversy between Ancients and Moderns it was the Moderns who won: Racine, Corneille, Molière and La Fontaine conquer Europe and the World. Between the time of Malherbe and Saint-Simon the rich storehouse of French literature is created, and with it that most admirable of all instruments of thought, the French language. The most elegant and limpid prose in the world revealed itself in memoirs, dialogues, essays, letters, "maxims', sermons and theological and philosophical treatises. Spanish, Italian, and English literature possess their own incomparable masterpieces, but when Western Man wants to learn of the human heart and to express his thoughts and feelings lucidly and exactly, he turns time and again to French literature of the Grand Siècle. Its judgement may be detached, but its feeling is sincere. If the Moderns have a new spiritual depth that is lacking in the Ancients, it is perhaps because they were Christians, and it is most certainly because they were Frenchmen.



The eighteenth century is the golden age of English domestic architecture; Baroque castles are followed by the Palladian mansions of the Georgian era, monuments of rational taste and unostentatious splendour. 909/ Stoneleigh Abbey, Kenilworth (Warwickshire). Built by Francis Smith, early Georgian. The end of the century sees the rise of neo-classicism; the predominant architect is the Scotsman Robert Adam. 910-911/ Syon House, Brentford (Middlesex), the anteroom, 1762, and Entrance Hall give an idea of the elegant simplicity even of his most sumptuous interiors. (909-911 Courtesy to Country Life Ltd., London, publisher of "English Country Houses open to the public".)

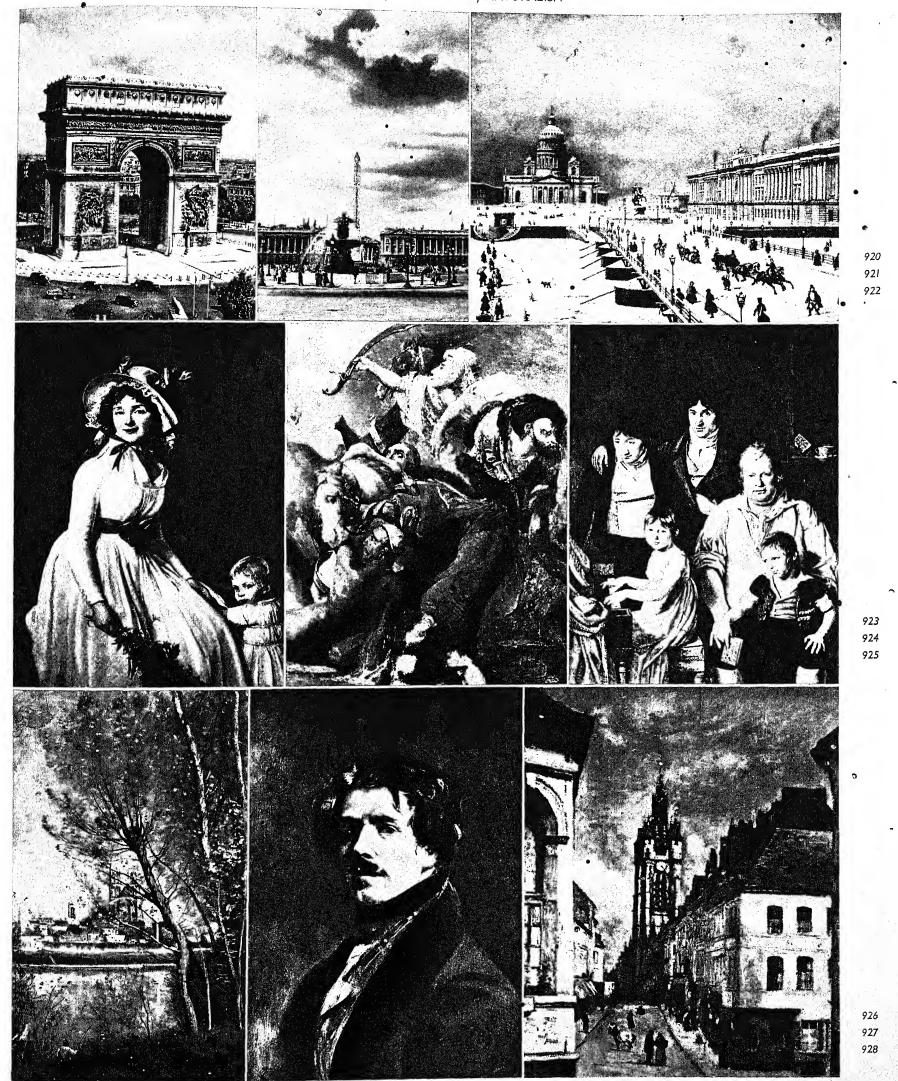
[cf. map 41]



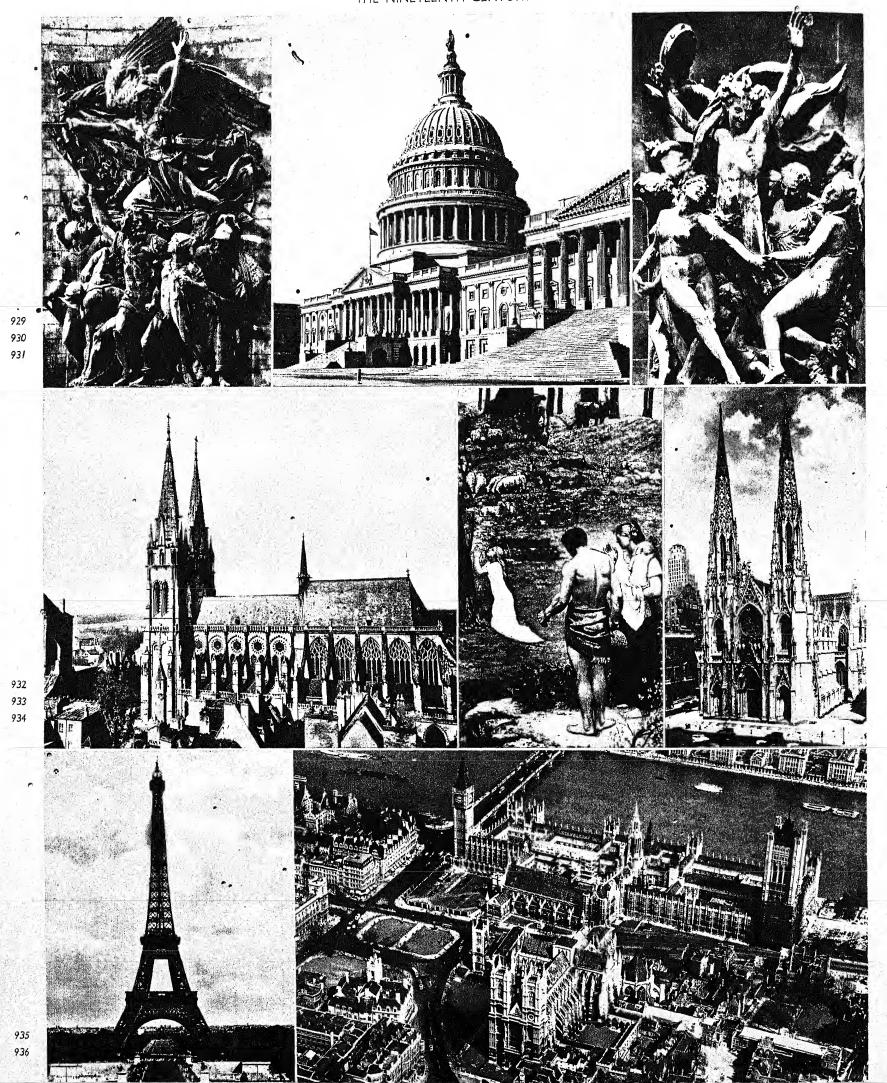
The eighteenth century marks the apogee of English painting, especially in portrait and landscape. 912/ Warren Hastings, Governor-General of India 1732-1810, by Sir Thomas Lawrence (1811), National Portrait Gallery. 913/ Dr. Samuel Johnson, by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Tate Gallery. 914/ Sarah Siddons, by Thomas Gainsborough. National Portrait Gallery. 915/ Two scenes fron, Mariage à la Mode", by Hogarth. Tate Gallery. 916/ Hampstead Heath, by John Constable. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. 917/ Crossing the Brook, by Turner, National Gallery. (912-917 Courtesy to the Trustees of the National Gallery and the Tate Gallery.)



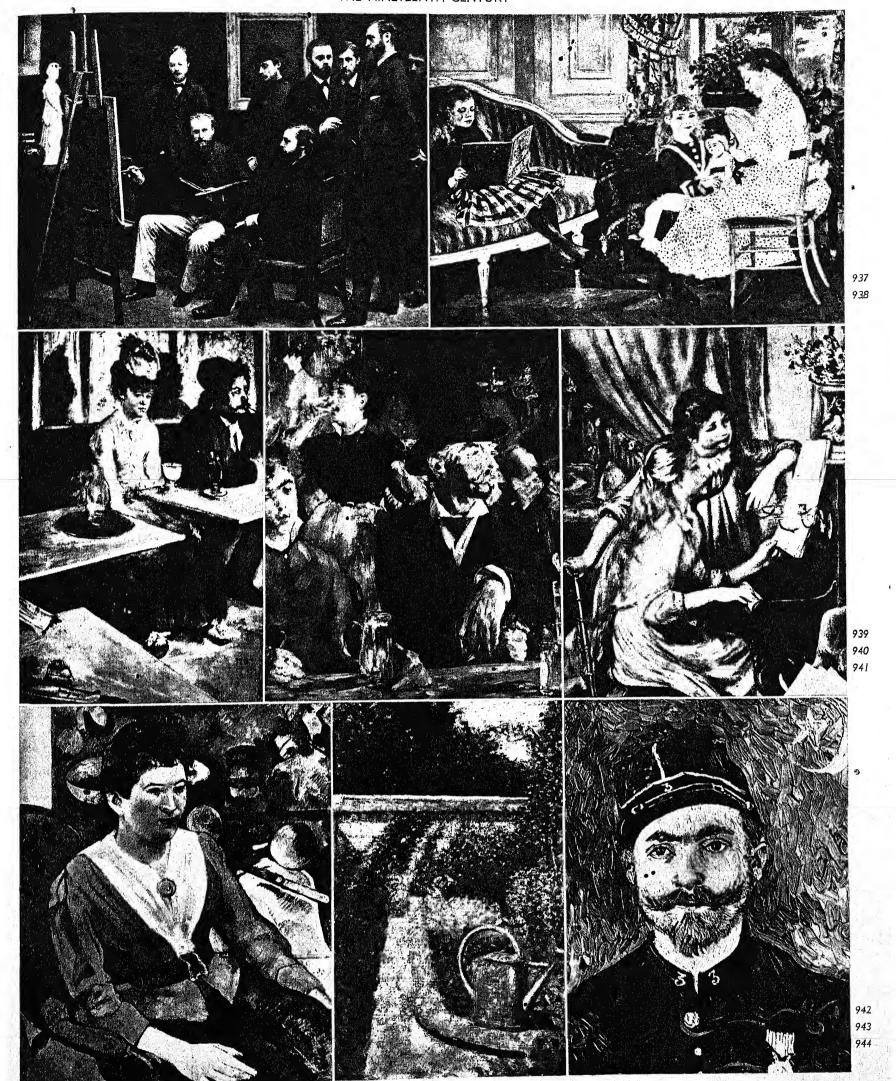




The Neo-Classicism of 1770-1830 was the product of the theories of archeologists, though it appeared to be a return to the tranquil grandeur of the Ancients. The Paris of Napoleon and the St. Petersburg of Alexander I are neo-classic cities. Delacroix is the leading figure in the romantic painting which succeeded Neo-Classicism; Corot, one of the first masters of modern tonal painting, paints things as he sees them and not historical subjects or scenes of special significance. 920/ Paris, Arc de Triomphe. 921/ Paris, Place de la Concorde. 922/ St. Petersburg ca. 1800. Foreground, the Neva; right, the Senate; centre, statue of Peter the Great by Falconet; background, Cathedral of St. Isaac by Montferrand. 923/ David, Madame Sériziat. Paris, Louvre. 924/ Delacroix, The Charge (detail). Charlieu. 925/ David, M. Gérard and Family. Le Mans. 926/ Corot, View of Mantes. Paris, Louvre. 927/ Delacroix, Self-portrait. 928/ Corot, The Belfry at Douai. Paris, Louvre.



Though rich in works of art, the XIXth century does not possess a distinctive style of its own. The great artists go their own way; and until the coming of impressionism the rest have nothing to offer but sentimental presentations of nature and history. 929/ Rude, La Marseillaise. On the Arc de Triomphe, Paris. 930/ Washington, the Capitol (neo-classical). 931/Carpeaux. The Dance. On the façade of the Opéra, Paris (1868). 932/ Moulins, cathedral. Choir in flamboyant Gothic, ca. 1445-1507; towers and nave in neo-Gothic by Millet, XIXth cent. 933/ Puvis de Chavannes, Childhood of St. Genevieve. Paris, Panthéon. 934/ New York, Church of St. Patrick (neo-Gothic). 935/ Paris, Eiffel Tower. 300 metres high, iron. 1887-1889. 936/ London, Houses of Parliament. One of the principal works of the English Gothic Revival. On the left, the tower of Big Ben; foreground, Westminster Abbey. [cf. maps 42, 47, 52]



The appearance of the Impressionists at Paris ca. 1870 marks the beginning of what may be called 'modern' painting. They revealed entirely new aspects of the visible, and it is to them that we owe the affirmation of purely pictorial values. 937/ Edouard Manet, 'Un atelier aux Batignolles'. Paris, Musée du Jeu de Paume. 948/ Renoir, 'Jeunes Filles au Piano'. 942/ Paul Berlin. 939/ Degas, 'L'Absinthe'. Paris, Musée du Jeu de Paume. 940/ Edouard Manet, 'Le Café Concert'. Private collection. 941/ Renoir, 'Jeunes Filles au Piano'. 942/ Paul Berlin. 939/ Degas, 'L'Absinthe'. Paris, Musée du Jeu de Paume. 940/ Edouard Manet, 'Le Café Concert'. Private collection. 941/ Renoir, 'Jeunes Filles au Piano'. 942/ Paul Berlin. 939/ Degas, 'L'Absinthe'. Paris, Musée du Jeu de Paume. 940/ Edouard Manet, 'Le Café Concert'. Private collection. 941/ Renoir, 'Jeunes Filles au Piano'. 942/ Paul Berlin. 939/ Degas, 'L'Absinthe'. Paris, Musée du Jeu de Paume. 940/ Edouard Manet, 'Le Café Concert'. Private collection. 941/ Renoir, 'Jeunes Filles au Piano'. 942/ Paul Berlin. 939/ Degas, 'L'Absinthe'. Paris, Musée du Jeu de Paume. 940/ Edouard Manet, 'Le Café Concert'. Private collection. 941/ Renoir, 'Jeunes Filles au Piano'. 942/ Paul Berlin. 939/ Degas, 'L'Absinthe'. Paris, Musée du Jeu de Paume. 940/ Edouard Manet, 'Le Café Concert'. Private collection. 941/ Renoir, 'Jeunes Filles au Piano'. 942/ Paul Berlin. 939/ Degas, 'L'Absinthe'. Paris, Musée du Jeu de Paume. 940/ Edouard Manet, 'Le Café Concert'. Private collection. 941/ Renoir, 'Jeunes Filles au Piano'. 942/ Paul Berlin. 939/ Degas, 'L'Absinthe'. Paris, Musée du Jeu de Paume. 940/ Edouard Manet, 'Le Café Concert'. Private collection. 941/ Renoir, 'Jeunes Filles au Piano'. 942/ Paul Berlin. 945/ Paul Berlin. 945/

THE NETHERLANDS: THE GOLDEN AGE

The reproductions which accompany the map of the Netherlands (map 37) in the XVIIth century are almost all taken from paintings. Yet none the less they give a fairly representative idea of Dutch culture, for in the Netherlands of the $\ensuremath{\mathrm{XVII}}\xspace$ the very subjects that were elsewhere neglected. In the eyes of posterity the Dutch of the period created the modern art of tonal painting. But contemporary travellers were already impressed by the excellent paintings which hung in every house: pictures were in fact considered a perfectly usual form of financial investment.

This small land with its antiquated political structure and its up-to-date 844-45 business methods, had just gained its independence. It was an agglomeration of towns closely juxtaposed with a network of lakes, broads and canals. A greater part of it lay below sea-level, and though protected by its dykes, it was under the constant menace of the sea. But it earned its livelihood from the sea as well - from merchant shipping, shipbuilding, and trade in goods from the Netherlands Indies. It was a land without a court, without prelates, and without much of an aristocracy. It was ostensibly governed by 'Colleges of Regents', but in fact by the patrician merchant families from the province of Holland, and, above all, from Amsterdam.

The court of the Archdukes sparkled at Brussels. The religious orders built 834/6 Baroque churches which had none the less certain Gothic tendencies. In an 832/7 Antwerp strangled by the closing of the Scheldt estuary Rubens painted his 861/7 altarpieces and won for himself his European reputation. Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden and Delft saw the work of Rembrandt, Hals, Steen and Vermeer, and 8_{40} /60 countless others – painters who won scant recognition from their contemporaries, and several of whom died in destitution. The men of the moment 853 were the savants, Christiaan Huygens, Anthony van Leeuwenhoek (who did not know any foreign languages), and the Leiden philologists, and Hugo Grotius, one of the creators of international law.

The country often suffered from bitter party strife - Oldenbarneveldt and 854 John de Witt lost their lives, and Grotius died in exile at Rostock. Yet on the other hand it was an asylum for dissenters. Not only did the Dutch receive their co-religionists the Huguenots, but Descartes and Bayle also lived in Holland for many years; as for books, what was forbidden in Paris was printed by Elzevier in Leiden or Amsterdam.

The rôle of the Republic in power politics was but brief. But it played a much greater rôle in the international money-market, and it was the only country that never went bankrupt. It occupied an even more significant position in the field of colonization, especially in the Netherlands Indies, and it was a pioneer in scientific research. As for philosophy, Spinoza, though rejected by his Jewish community, had a European reputation.

But the lasting glories of the Golden Age in the Low Countries are its cities and its paintings. Amsterdam, ringed round with its three wide canals, 841was built on a scale that had nothing to rival it, and was something unique in itself. In its luxurious layout, its imposing houses, its cleanliness and its innumerable paintings, it amazed even the Venetian ambassadors who were themselves accustomed to the luxury of the City of the Doges. But the Venetians were also astonished by the smaller cities and towns, with their humpbacked bridges, leafy canals, tall and narrow decorative gables, churches with whitewashed interiors filled with funereal monuments and inscriptions, 848/5 and carillons tinkling from church towers that were copied as far away as Danzig and Copenhagen. There were of course no monasteries, and the Catholics had to go to church surreptitiously, and paid dearly for their precarious liberty. But the country was rich in almshouses, hospitals and charitable institutions, and nowhere did people go so readily to church, clasping their bibles and hymnbooks.

It is difficult to say what is the distinctive feature of the paintings, the architecture, and the modest and very little known contemporary literature of the northern Low Countries (Vondel, of course, belongs to European 870 Baroque). Perhaps it is the same characteristic which distinguishes the Dutch landscape from all others – its amazing combination of simplicity and subtlety. To realize this fully one has only to compare a Rubens landscape with its 833 overcrowded foreground and high horizon, with such refined yet simple things as the country scenes of Ruysdael and the town views from shipboard 846 of Van Goyen. The interiors, still lifes and portraits were also subjects well 844/4 suited to this characteristic quality of the Dutch masters.

The patrician patrons, however, preferred to see themselves in trainband uniform surrounded by their amateur comrades-in-arms; they loved to decorate their walls with sea-pieces depicting warships or with interiors rendered in minutely realistic detail. But they could hardly be expected to understand the solitary genius of Rembrandt.

The Low Countries are wide and formless, the wind blows without ceasing 846 and the painter sees more of heaven than of earth. But no other horizon offers 847 so many subtle silhouettes, and to see the sunlight scudding across the ground between heavy clouds, bathing each part in turn with its fleeting rays, means more to a Dutchman than all the Baroque scenery of the South. And it is to such things that the Dutch masters have opened the eyes of the West.

IV

FROM EUROPEAN TO ATLANTIC WORLD

THE AGE OF VOLTAIRE

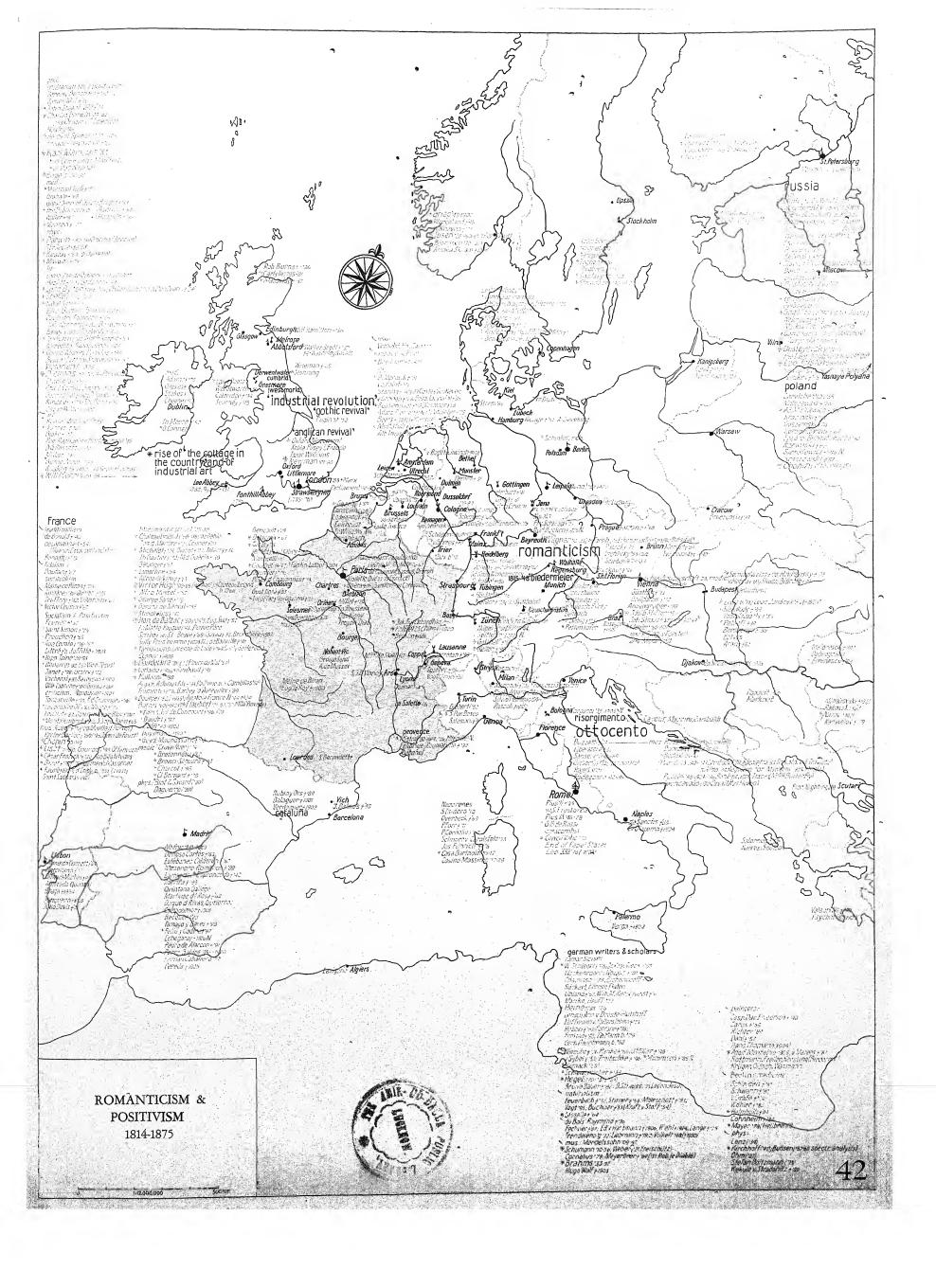
landscape bathed in afternoon sunlight; on the horizon the silhouette of a town with Baroque cupolas nestling among Gothic spires and ringed round with high walls and gates; a château built by a French architect with a terrace leading to a French ornamental garden with its formal lake and fountain playing in the air; along the bumpy highway the bewigged and bepowdered aristocrats (who have almost certainly read Voltaire and Montesquieu's Lettres Persanes) riding with their crinolined ladies to some small court where presently, under the chandeliers of the Rococo assembly-room, they will dance the slow and stately minuet - that is the sort of picture that everyone has of the Age of Voltaire: a secure, frivolous, and wholly French epoch (map 40).

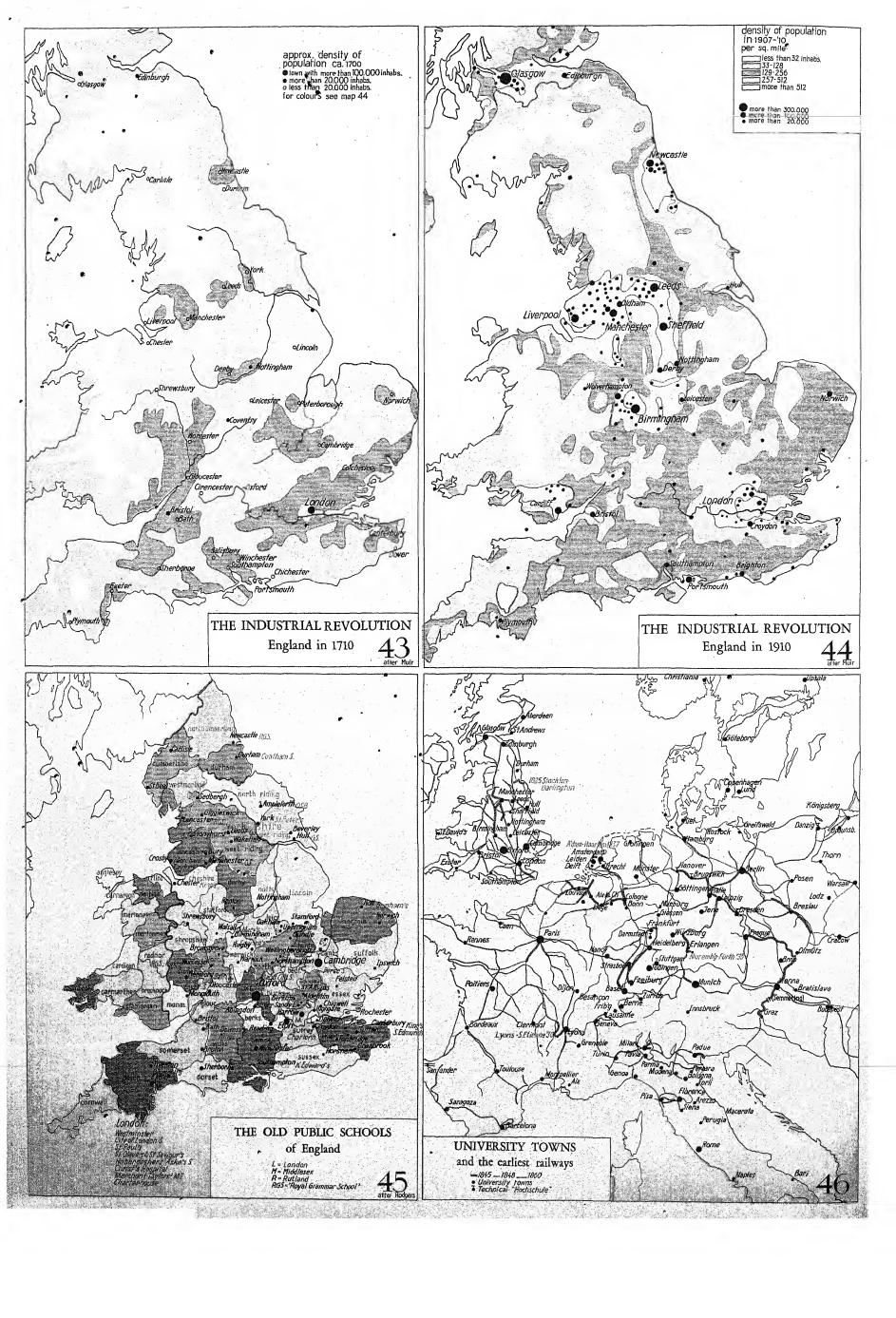
But what was taken seriously in those days? First of all Reason; and then natural, primitive Feeling. In other words, they first read the Encyclopédie, and followed up (to a greater extent than is commonly supposed) the rapid development of the natural sciences with private experiments in their own laboratories. Later in the century, under the influence of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, they came back with enthusiasm and conviction to the same Nature, but along the easier way of Feeling, of primitive Feeling unsullied by civili-

Cold criticism and warm natural feeling are the two spiritual poles of the XVIIIth century. That is what lies behind the elegant, witty and superficial decoration of the Rococo interiors and behind the sophisticated conversation.

An examination of the literature of the period and of the atmosphere of the salons soon reveals that the authority of the Church, though externally so

brilliant and capable of achieving such architectural magnificence, has been undermined by the cream of this intellectual world centred on France. The Age of Enlightenment has no longer any interest in divine mysteries, or even in the demonic element in human nature; it is no longer worried by guilt or sin. Sin is simply a lack of forethought and can be cured by 'reasonableness'. What aroused the enthusiasm of the beaux esprits was a world without Revelation, well ordered and neat like a park of Le Nôtre, and clearly comprehensible to a rational thinking man. Nature was surrendering her secrets one by one to the researchers - Franklin had attracted lightning to his lightning-conductor, and men were soon to tell of the discoveries of Galvani and Volta - and this Nature was thus visibly governed by a rational and sympathetic Providence that made nothing too difficult for anyone. In the XVIth century a number of leading spirits had inwardly broken with the Church, but now the rupture was with Christian Revelation. The miracles of the Bible and all the piety of previous generations was set aside as a mere delusion. At the most, they held to a 'natural' religion, and to a belief in the immortality of the soul and the existence of a Supreme Being. A respect for religion, which is still always related to the absolutist state, was certainly a point in one's favour in society, and 'enlightened despots' like Joseph II protected religion and morality with strong legislation. But the sort of piety that was tolerated came not from the prophetic word but from the feeling heart - not the piety of John Wesley and St. Paul of the Cross, but of Dr Johnson and The Vicar of Wakefield. It is certainly the flourishing period of later pietism, especially in the evangelical lands, but the stress has everywhere shifted on to the subjective, edifying and





reasonable aspects of practical faith. But there was none the less a hidden undercurrent of feeling that expressed itself in the writings of the men of the Enlightenment – against the Church, with her feudal trappings and antiquated fables, and later, against the social abuses of the Ancien Régime.

The new spirit of criticism and pure reasonableness came from England, which slowly but surely overshadowed France in the realms of thought. It was not for nothing that Voltaire stayed in England so long. He gave to English ideas that attractive and inimitably witty French form which captivated not only the country gentry and merchant classes alike, but also Frederick the Great at Sanssouci and Catherine II at Peterhof. The thought of the XVIIIth century is dominated by deistic England, thoroughly pragmatic and commercial and wholly concentrated on the practical: France dominates taste and the world of books.

From Lisbon to St. Petersburg the ruling caste reads Voltaire, Rousseau, Condorcet and Montesquieu, and perhaps even Le Sage, Beaumarchais and Laclos. But the spiritual fathers of the Encyclopédie are ultimately Locke and David Hume, and the work of Say is unthinkable without the Scotsman Adam Smith, author of The Wealth of Nations. At the end of the century Immanuel Kant, the lonely philosopher of Königsberg, writes those decisive works in which he determines the boundaries of rational thought and inaugurates the modern critique of pure reason. He also creates the Kantian categorical moral imperative which was to mould the consciences of so many serious thinkers and academics in the following century, and was even to provide the moral basis of the French universities.

The modern world, in which 'man has at last become adult', or, as Kant puts it, 'has at last the courage to live entirely by his reason', begins in fact during the XVIIIth century. One of the pioneers of medical science, Boerhaave of Leiden, considered a good doctor as a 'mechanic', and the patient was for him a case to be considered purely as a physical and biochemical problem. That is symptomatic of the type of Western culture which now prevails: science concentrates its attention on what is immediately observable and mensurable - in other words on secondary considerations. Specialization now begins, but specialization in all its forms can only deal with a part, and always the same part, of the mystery of reality. The feeling for the hidden breadth and depth of human reality in its totality passed away unnoticed. Scientific specialization was achieving spectacular results, as for instance the new detailed knowledge of the human body and of the general nature of the structure of matter, and the amazing development of physics and chemistry. In the light of these achievements the more hidden and deeper moments of human existence were lost sight of. The XVIIIth century begins the making of huge inventories of factual knowledge, and this same work dominates the XIXth century. In no other epoch has man become so much a homo faber, a maker of instruments; the technical era is already in sight and technical discoveries follow one another with the startling regularity of a chain reaction. Scientific method is everything, and it is both positivistic and mechanistic. Men learned to know the outward mechanism of nature and of man, but the rest of nature - and what is worse, the rest of man - fell outside their field of vision. Slowly but surely modern man comes to find himself in a mechanistic world picture into which he himself does not fit - his inner nature makes him too big for a mechanistic world. It is the effort to adapt himself to and to dominate that world picture which explains the words and deeds, the illusory belief in inevitable 'progress', the success, and the inescapable disappointment of modern man. For it is today, after a hundred and fifty years, that we can see the final result of the process that began before 1800. But where is the opposite pole, the sensibility of the XVIIIth century?

For a long time it seemed as if there would be no end to Baroque. It achieved an incomparable finale in the South German lands, in the residencies, petty palaces, churches and monasteries of Bavaria, Saxony, Austria and Switzerland (the monuments can be seen at a glance on maps 38 and 39). South Germany recovered eventually from the apathy following the Thirty Years' War,

and took her place again in the West with her buildings and, her music. Between 1583 and 1660 there was nothing much of any architectural importance. After 1660 the Italian architects begin, and around 1700 come the first great German architects and at the same time the first great German musicians. Then come the two most valuable things in this period: the music of Handel and Bach in the Lutheran North, and in the Catholic South the 906-07 imposing churches and palaces of Fischer, Prandauer, Balthasar Neumann, the Masters of Vorarlberg, and the stucco-workers of Wessobrunn. In this land without literature and without great sculptors and painters, the German genius lived again in its sacred cantatas, its fugues, and its magnificent conceptions of space. Poor in ideas but rich in deeds, this generation gave their work the most fantastic and fanciful Rococo finish; their interiors were the 876-78 most daring and their town planning the most fearless of the whole Baroque 884-86 era. Italian Baroque can be described as being at first sober and dynamic and then, after Bernini, picturesque, and powerfully graphic. French Baroque, which is rightly called 'French classicism', is a lively combination of grandeur, taste and comfort; South German Baroque is, in the words of Pinder, 'a triumph of fantasy over prosaic convenience.'

Around 1760 the tide begins everywhere to turn. It is then that the rationalistic pole exerts its fullest influence, and the stream of brilliantly stylized emotions is sicklied o'er with unimpassioned reason.

Classicism. At the same time that the star of sentimental feeling for Nature rose with Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Marie-Antoinette played at shepherdesses in the Petit-Trianon, Europe began to read the works of Macpherson and his followers, in which sombre heroes mused by Gothic ruins and nursed their turbulent passions amidst the wild Scots scenery. Yet contemporaneously with these manifestations of Pre-Romanticism there appeared, stronger than ever, the ideal of Antiquity (map 41): after the hectic interiors of Louis XV 905 came the sober style of Louis XVI. There was now a sudden desire for the noble simplicity and quiet grandeur of the Ancients. There was a spontaneous reaction against meaningless excess, strained effects, Baroque bombast and polite airs and graces - the Enlightenment had triumphed in the arts as well. Watteau and Boucher were now out of fashion and David was the man of the 923 moment. Unbelievable as it may seem in the age of Tiepolo and Goya, the 888 German Mengs was considered at Rome to be the greatest painter, and men 900-03 listened with attention to the archeologist Winckelmann who expounded the theory of the new taste.

The leaders of the French Revolution (who had destroyed the monarclay, nobility and clergy and enthroned the bourgeoisie) saw in the new style the perfect expression not only of Roman civic virtues but also of natural reason; 890 it was the ideal matrix for the new free, equal and fraternal citoyens. Thus it 920-21 was that classicism provided the back-cloth for the Revolution. By a strange irony of fate, classicism also provided the basis for the 'Empire' style of the Napoleonic and of the Russian Empire, and also, from 1814 till 1848, for the official 'style' of the reactionary governments which served in most countries to suppress the effects of the Revolution. Thus it was that large parts of Paris and the whole of St. Petersburg became neo-classical. The centre of 922 London was neo-classic even before 1800, for the new taste, which received its definitive form in Paris, came ultimately from XVIIIth century England and Scotland, where we can see its achievements in Bath and Edinburgh.

The years before and after 1800 mark the height of the German revival in music and literature. It is the period of Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven, and also of Herder, Goethe and Schiller. These great figures stand far above the cultural movements which they themselves serve to determine. They point forward to Romanticism and Positivism, and backwards to the age of natural reason that was passing - what links Goethe, for instance, with classicism is 908 his deep feeling for Antiquity. Even more than in the days of Nithart, Dürer and Luther, have the German lands reached a peak of cultural achievement. A second was immediately to follow with the advent of the Romantic Era.

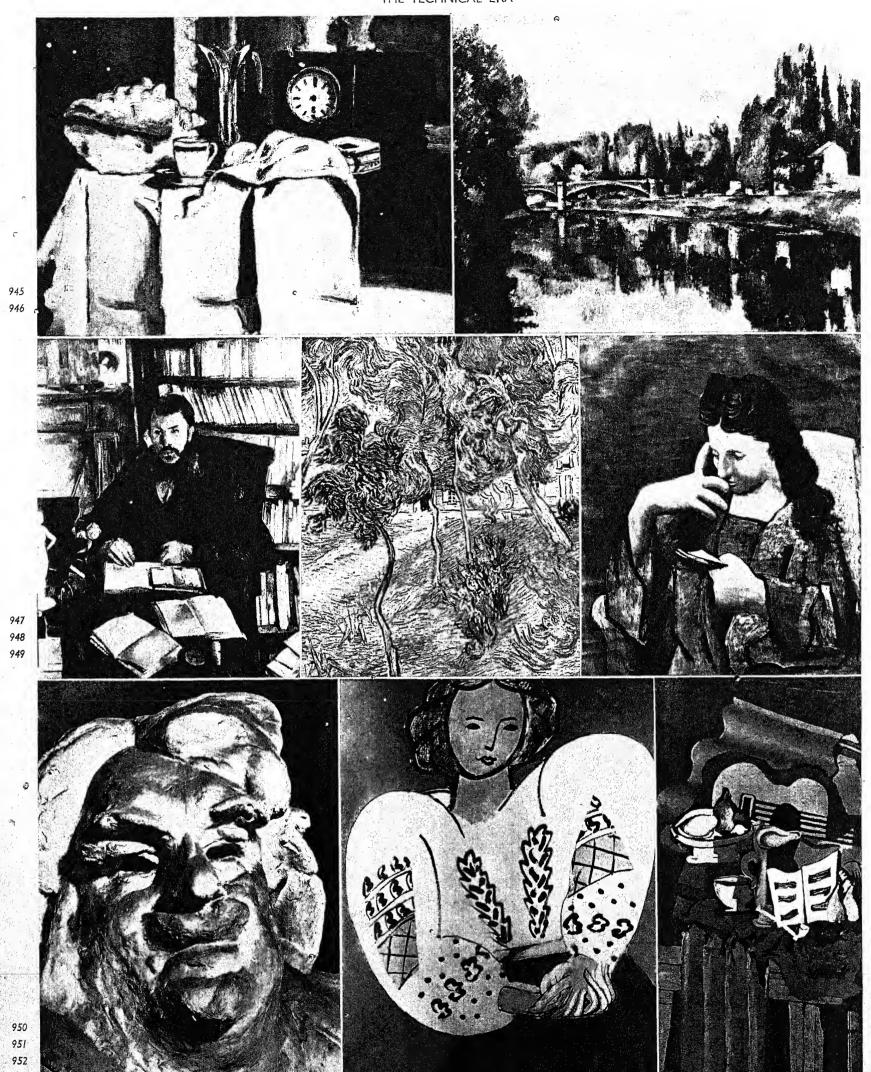
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The culture of the XIXth century, embracing with its impressive span the technical and intellectual developments of virtually the entire world, can best be described in general terms as a bourgeois culture.

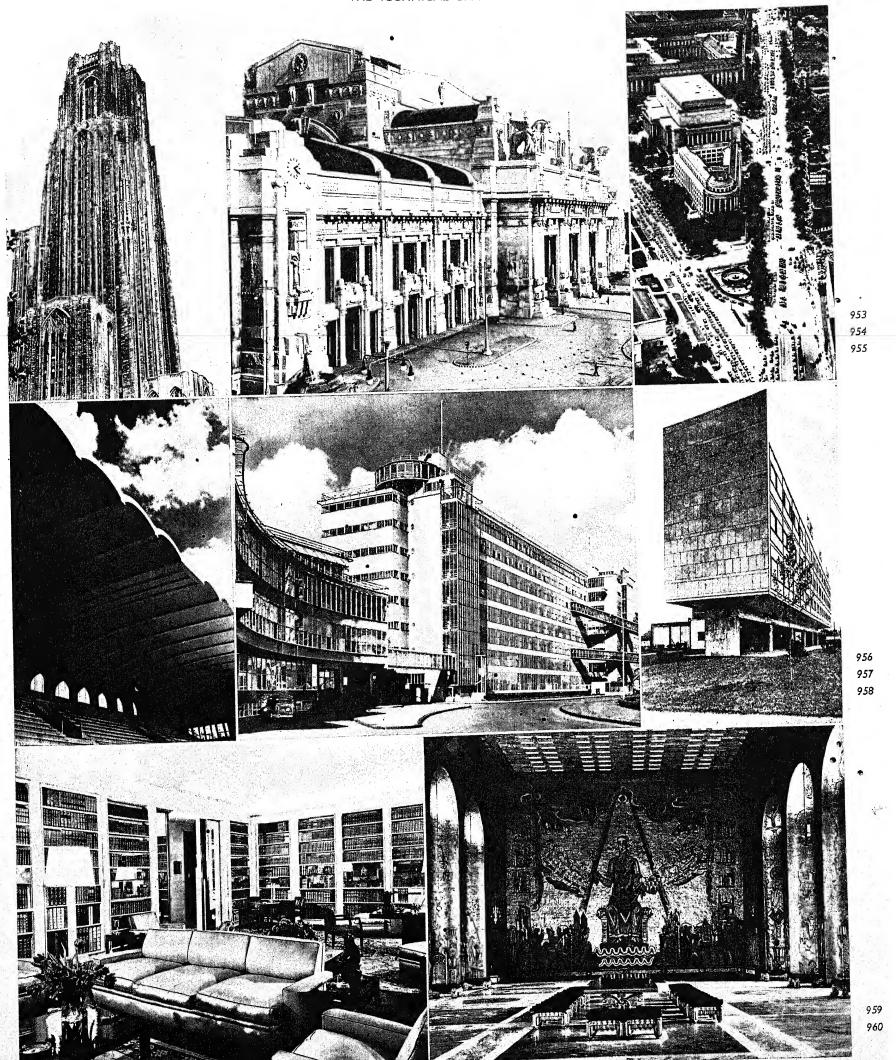
The leading caste is no longer aristocracy or clergy, but the liberal middle class. It is they who control the spiritual and intellectual life of the epoch, even when they are in opposition in politics and find themselves ruled over by equally talented conservatives. In the France of Louis-Philippe, of the Second Empire and of the Third Republic, in Victorian England, in the Italy of the Risorgimento and in the Germany of Bismarck, it is the politician, the big-businessman, the gentleman, the novelist, the engineer and the intellectual who are the best representatives of the spirit of the age. It is they who have old colonial Spanish Empire into present-day Latin America, that agglome-

built that Western World which seemed, till 1914, so secure, self-confident and 'progressive'.

During the whole of the century the rest of the world seemed to remain passive. It is the Western, businesslike, adventurous, bourgeois (whether liberal or reactionary) type who now predominates. He believes in the rights of man, in progress, in himself, and usually vaguely in God but not in the Church. He leaves his mark on the bureaucratic and conservative Russian Empire through the instrumentality of an entirely Westernized Russian ruling class. In the rapidly expanding U.S.A. (map 52) it is he who conquers and exploits the whole continent from East to West. It is he who transforms the



The work of art is certainly no outcast in the technical era. On the contrary, works of art have never been so self-conscious, sophisticated and individual. In the figurative arts reality, including human reality, reaches a point of extreme disintegration. What is sought for is either pure expression or pure form, and the tension lies between these two poles. The results are usually clever and yet elementary and strident - all primitive and preclassical art from the past is an object of admiration. The works reproduced above belong to the period of transition from late Impressionism to the contemporary cosmopolitan art dominated by Picasso and Matisse. 945/ Cézanne, Still Life (1886). 946/ Cézanne, Landscape. 947/ Cézanne, Portrait of Gustave Geffroy. 948/ Vincent van Gogh, Garden at St.-Remy (1889). 949/ Picasso, Woman Reading. Grenoble. 950/ Rodin, Balzac. 951/ Matisse, Young Woman. 952/ Braque, Still Life (1914).



The architecture of the technical era is essentially functional, though tempered by decoration that is sometimes 'primitive', but more usually refined and subtle. 953/ The 'Cathedral of Cathedral of The architecture of the technical era is essentially functional, though tempered by decoration that is sometimes 'primitive', but more usually refined and subtle. 953/ The 'Cathedral of Cathedral of The architecture of the technical era is essentially functional, though tempered by decoration that is sometimes 'primitive', but more usually refined and subtle. 953/ The 'Cathedral of Cathedral of The architecture of the technical era is essentially functional, though tempered by decorated by himself. 955/ Downtown, Washington D.C., government-buildings. Learning', University of Pittsburgh (U.S.A.): a neo-Gothic skyscraper of 42 storeys. 954/ Milan, façade of the central station. 955/ Downtown, Washington D.C., government-buildings. Learning', University of Pittsburgh (U.S.A.): a neo-Gothic skyscraper of 42 storeys. 954/ Milan, façade of the central station. 955/ Rotterdam, factory of Van Nelle Ltd, Centre: Apex Building, seat of the Federal Trade Commission. 956/ Bordeaux, Stadium, in reinforced concrete; architect M. de Welles. 957/ Rotterdam, factory of Van Nelle Ltd, Centre: Apex Building, seat of the Federal Trade Commission. 956/ Bordeaux, Stadium, in reinforced concrete; architect M. de Welles. 957/ Rotterdam, factory of Van Nelle Ltd, Centre: Apex Building, seat of the Federal Trade Commission. 956/ Bordeaux, Stadium, in reinforced concrete; architect M. de Welles. 957/ Rotterdam, factory of Van Nelle Ltd, Centre: Apex Building, seat of the Federal Trade Commission. 956/ Bordeaux, Stadium, in reinforced concrete; architect M. de Welles. 957/ Rotterdam, factory of Van Nelle Ltd, Centre: Apex Building, seat of the Federal Trade Commission. 956/ Bordeaux, Stadium, in reinforced concrete; architect M. de Welles. 957/ Rotterdam, factory of Van Nelle Ltd, Centre: Apex Building, seat of the Federal Trade Commission. 9

ration of typically Western bourgeois states ruled alternately by conservative and liberal. It is he who turns South Africa and a corner of Australia into outposts of Western European life, and who makes his appearance as a dominant force in the ancient and apparently passive and unimpressionable civilization of India and China. And it is he who is imitated in everything by the Japanese.

The spiritual and intellectual development of the West itself, the source of this amazing expansion, can be summarized under two contrasting heads: 'Romanticism and Idealism' and 'Positivism'.

By Romanticism we mean the sudden emotional reaction against the coldly rationalistic culture of the XVIIIth century, and especially against the artificialities of Neo-Classicism, with its constant hankering after antique norms and rigid rules, most of which in fact went back no further than the Grand Siècle. Romanticism was an explosion of irrational feelings, expressed in a literature that, though spontaneous and imaginative, was written with all the discipline and verbal virtuosity of the previous era. This went hand in hand with a sincere and emotional concern for everything that had been despised by neoclassic culture: the national past, the Middle Ages, Gothic, ancient balladry, and even the poetic treasures of the Catholic Church. The consequences of 932 this were incalculable. Cologne cathedral was finished in the style of the XIIIth century, the French cathedrals were restored, the old epics and ballads were re-edited, and indeed the whole of the past was reconstructed in the light of historic criticism. The West owes so much to Romanticism: the Oxford Movement, that amazing return of the Anglican élite to the traditional pietas anglicana; the Gothic Revival, which was to cover England with neo-Gothic town halls, churches, railway stations and Parliament buildings; the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, the group of artists who sought to return to the age 'before Raphael', i.e. to the Quattrocento. We may also attribute to Romanticism the revival of classic monasticism, beginning with the foundation of Solesmes by Dom Guéranger (there were already enough modern congregations without the obligations of choral duties, dedicated to education, the mission's and other charitable works). It brings with it too the emergence of national literatures in all the smaller lands and minority groups (in Provence, Bohemia, the Balkans, Finland and the Baltic States); there is a sincere admiration for the popular and the primitive in almost all great countries (in Russia this takes the form of Slavophilism), and there is in general a new outlook on history that is free from any preconceptions. The debt of the West to Romanticism is indeed impressive.

By Idealism, a concept related to Romanticism, one refers at this period to the great philosophical systems of German Idealism that are associated with the names of Fichte, Schelling and Hegel. Almost all the philosophers since Descartes had sacrificed the human person to thought, and had restricted reality to what could be immediately understood. The Idealists, and especially Hegel, certainly cannot be accused of this, but they in their turn sacrificed the individual 'I' to an all-embracing system. What survives of that system today is not the system of the Idealists, but the 'dialectical method' which Karl Marx and others used to construct a diametrically antithetical system of historical materialism.

By Positivism, the hall-mark proper of the XIXth century, we mean, in the strict philosophical sense, an experimental philosophy in which the only valid facts are those which can be immediately and tangibly 'experienced', and whatever exists outside them (or 'transcends' them) is to be rejected as uncertain, dubious, or even non-existent. In the broader sense of the term, Positivism is a limited and precise attitude of mind that is hostile to any speculation outside the field of sense-perception, - an attitude which belongs, consciously or not, to the large majority of XIXth century scientists, specialists and non-specialists alike. Science, with a capital 'S', is the abstraction which the best and greatest spirits of the age served with heroic self-denial and inexhaustible energy, and with the urgent desire to promote 'the health, wealth and happiness' of mankind.

We can begin today to see the result of this extraordinary polarity. Idealist philosophy is a thing of the past, though in an indirect way it has left as its legacy that inhuman monster, the totalitarian state. Positivistic science, on the other hand, has provided humanity with control over the forces of nature and with the technical equipment of life. But the ancient Greeks, who only sought for principles and had little concern for the practical application of technique, might have observed that in their day they had only sought for knowledge of and not for power over, the cosmos; and they might well have considered in their heart of hearts that modern science was inhuman, onesided and a manifestation of human presumption or hubris. The ideal of the Greeks was eudaimonia, human felicity, and this was to be achieved through a combination of self-knowledge, self-discipline and knowledge of one's environment. Western Man of the XIXth century, on the contrary, regularly sought for human happiness in the technical mastery over his environment. The tradition of self-knowledge and self-discipline which came from his

Christian and classical antecedents was certainly still in his blood, and this served as a temporary counterbalance. But this intense and consuming preoccupation with the mensurable, the mechanical, the material and, in effect, with the 'sub'-human, and his contempt for the old Helleno-Christian vision of mankind, did untold damage to his true humanity. The consciousness of the unique quality of human values fell more and more into the background. Western Man of this period, who was without any feeling for symbolism and mystery, had an almost blind faith in the scientific hypotheses of Darwin and the like. His idea of the universe was reduced to that vaguely realized system of starry worlds which, for some obscure reason, has become part of every modern school curriculum.

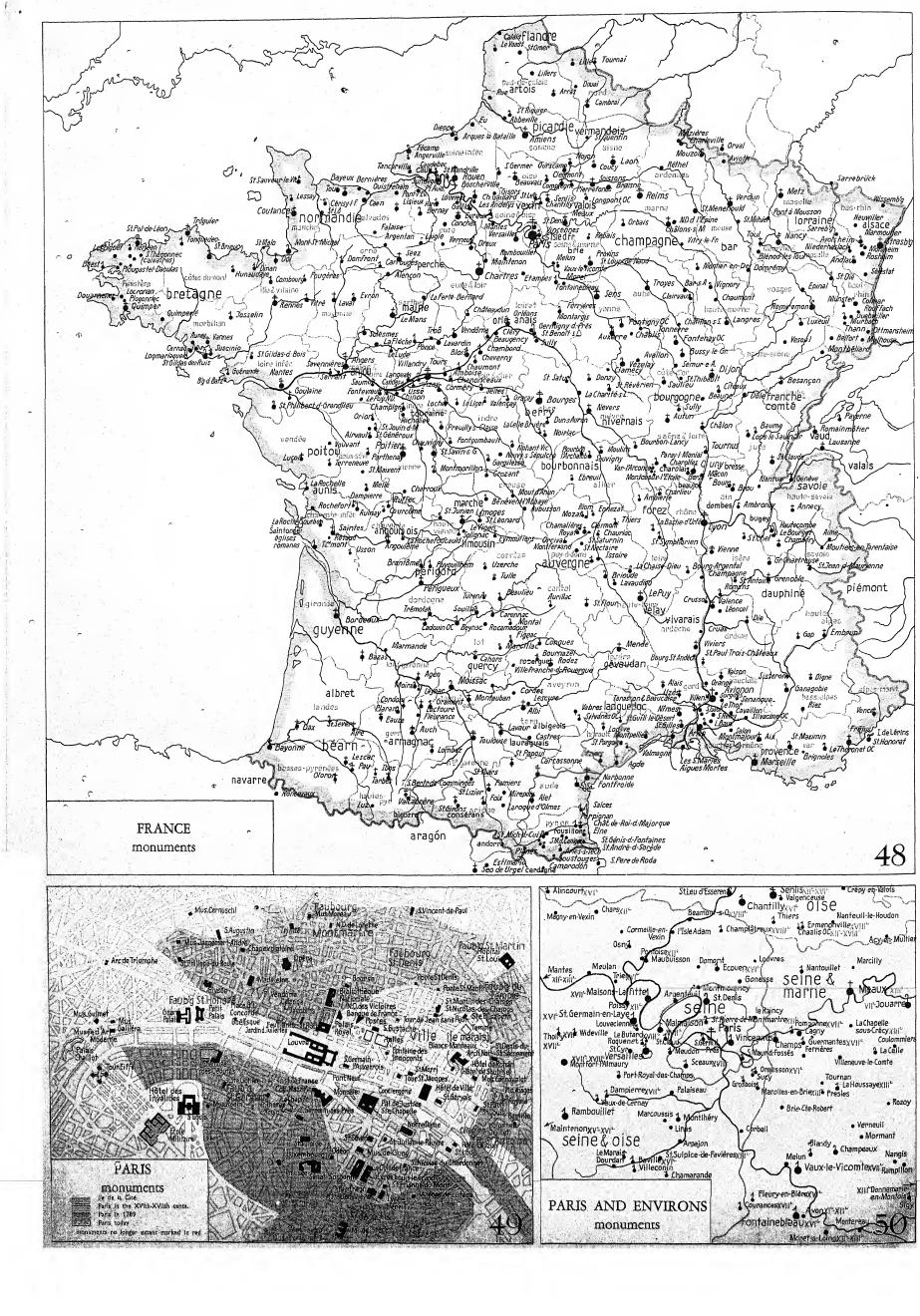
What has now become so clear did not disquiet the West of a century ago. Technical progress brought with it astonishing surprises, and the great disillusionment was not yet in sight. In view of the limitations of contemporary intellectual life, the cultural harvest of the XIXth century is overwhelmingly great. In the positive sciences every line of research in the historical and intellectual fields was followed up. The last blank spaces on the map were filled in; the telescope opened up more and more distant worlds; the microscope revealed a more and more precise picture of the smallest particles of matter; and by the end of the century there appeared the sciences which concerned themselves solely with the social and psychical aspects of humanity. The two outstanding features in the arts are the development of the psychological novel and the intensity of contemporary musical life; the surveys attached to the individual lands (maps 42, 47, and 52) can be left to speak for themselves. After the golden age of Romanticism - Byron, Goethe and Schiller, Victor Hugo, Manzoni, and Pushkin - and the flowering of naturalism - Balzac, Flaubert, Zola, Dickens and Tolstoy - the first marked reaction took place in France. The eternal attraction for symbolism and the feeling for the mysterious unity of reality makes its appearance once more in French poetry, and 937 later in French prose. The great event around 1870 in music and the figurative 944 arts is Impressionism: the detached and spontaneous reproduction of the fleeting moment. It first arose in Paris, the unique and in a sense the only home of modern painting. One of the things which the Impressionists - Manet, Renoir and Degas (to say nothing of the composers Debussy and Ravel) have left us, is their unforgettable picture of the wonderful age of the first railway stations, plush furniture and gas-lamps. After Impressionism came a series of reactions which all derived from a desire to make the elementary motif an independent entity. All the '-isms' from Cézanne to the present 946day are concerned with this, one way or another. They insist either on com- 949 position as an architectural basis, or on pure expression, or on elementary forms. •

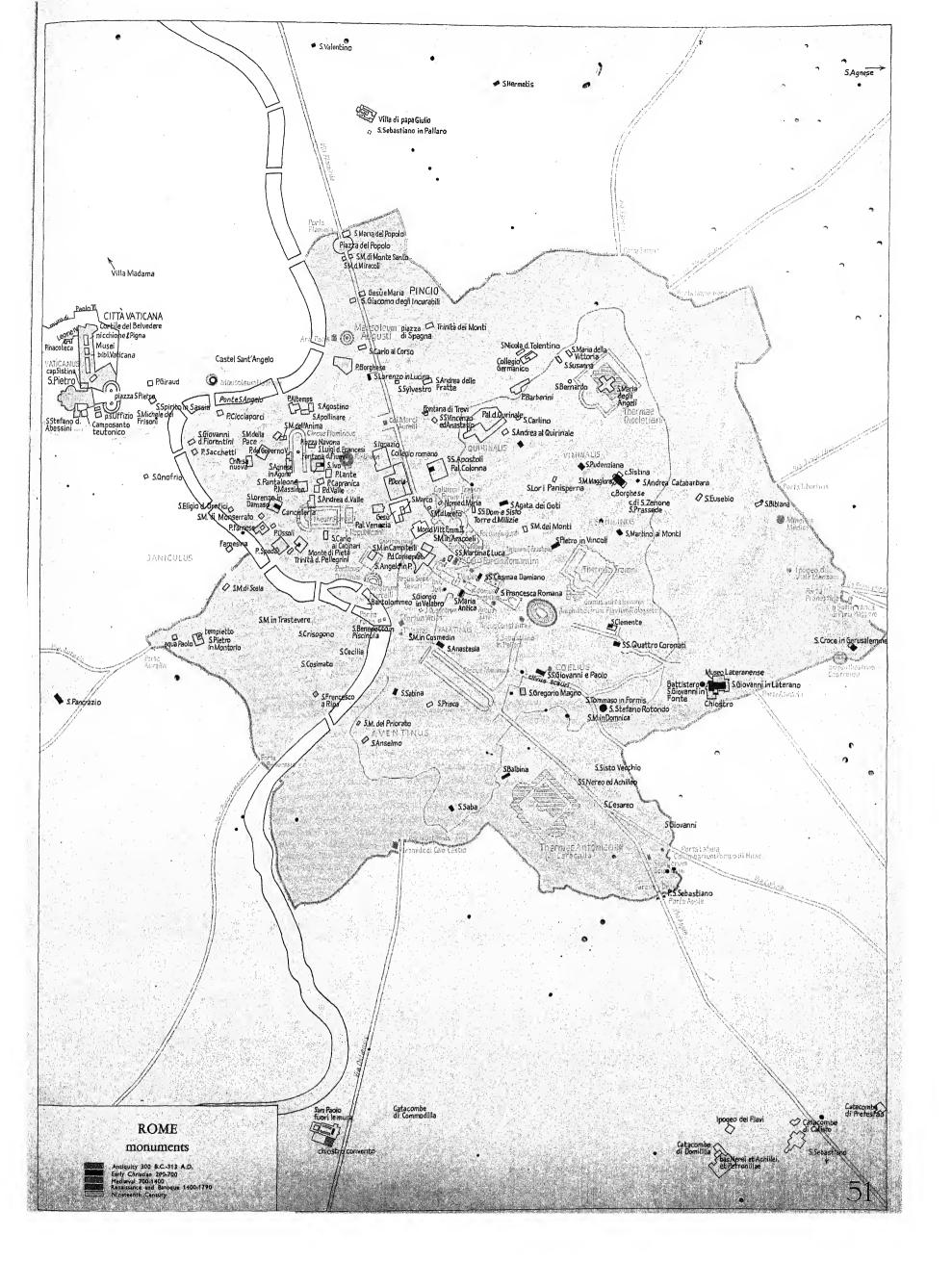
What the age did not provide, however, was a new architectural style. The primary explanation lies in the disappearance of the ecclesiastical and secular classes who before 1789 had been responsible for commissioning and executing new architectural works. After the Revolution and the repeated anti-clerical movements, the court had no significance, and the Church very little, in the world of art - it is significant that between 1791 and 1802 and again between 1830 and 1835, more than four thousand abbeys and convents disappeared from the map of Europe. Romanticism isolated the artist and threw him back on his own mental resources, and the patrons no longer had the unlimited resources and the great prestige of former times. The new generation of patrons were in fact either beaurocrats or else belonged to the ruling class of businessmen and contractors who certainly devoted their energies to large and solid buildings (museums, theatres, casinos and Crystal Palaces), but who were not outstanding for their good taste. Bourgeois "equality' had brought a great levelling-up, or rather levelling-down, of taste. The dominating preoccupation with the past produced a crop of derivative motifs, and even the greatest architects of the Romantic era took their designs from the dead styles of the architectural handbooks: neo-Gothic, neo-Classic, and finally even neo-Baroque. 930/36

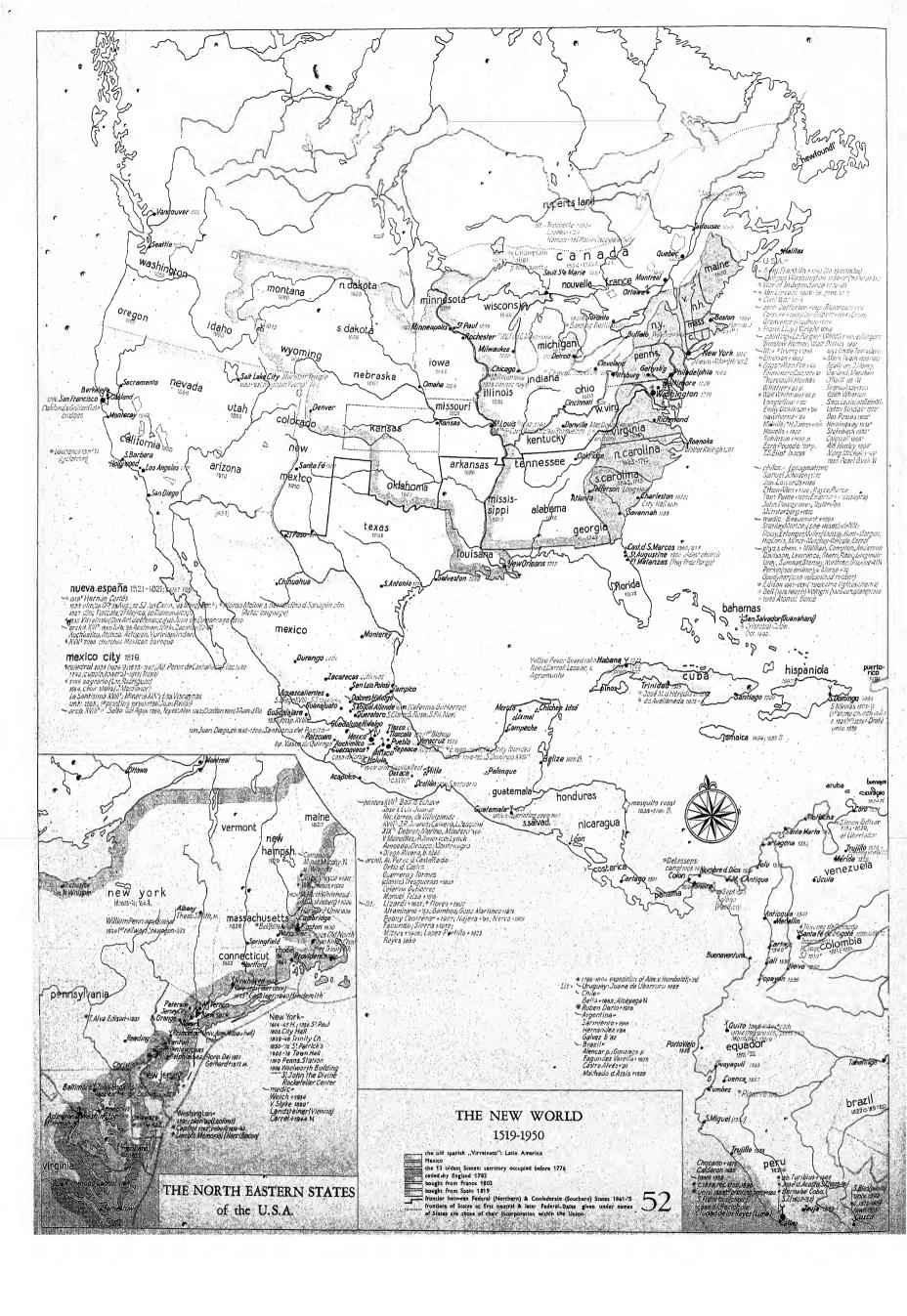
The rapid rise of industry also brought about a decline in the old traditions of craftsmanship, and even the conscious creation of a 'modern' craftsmanship by William Morris and Ruskin could not withstand the absolute predominance of mass-production. And with mass-production there came also a

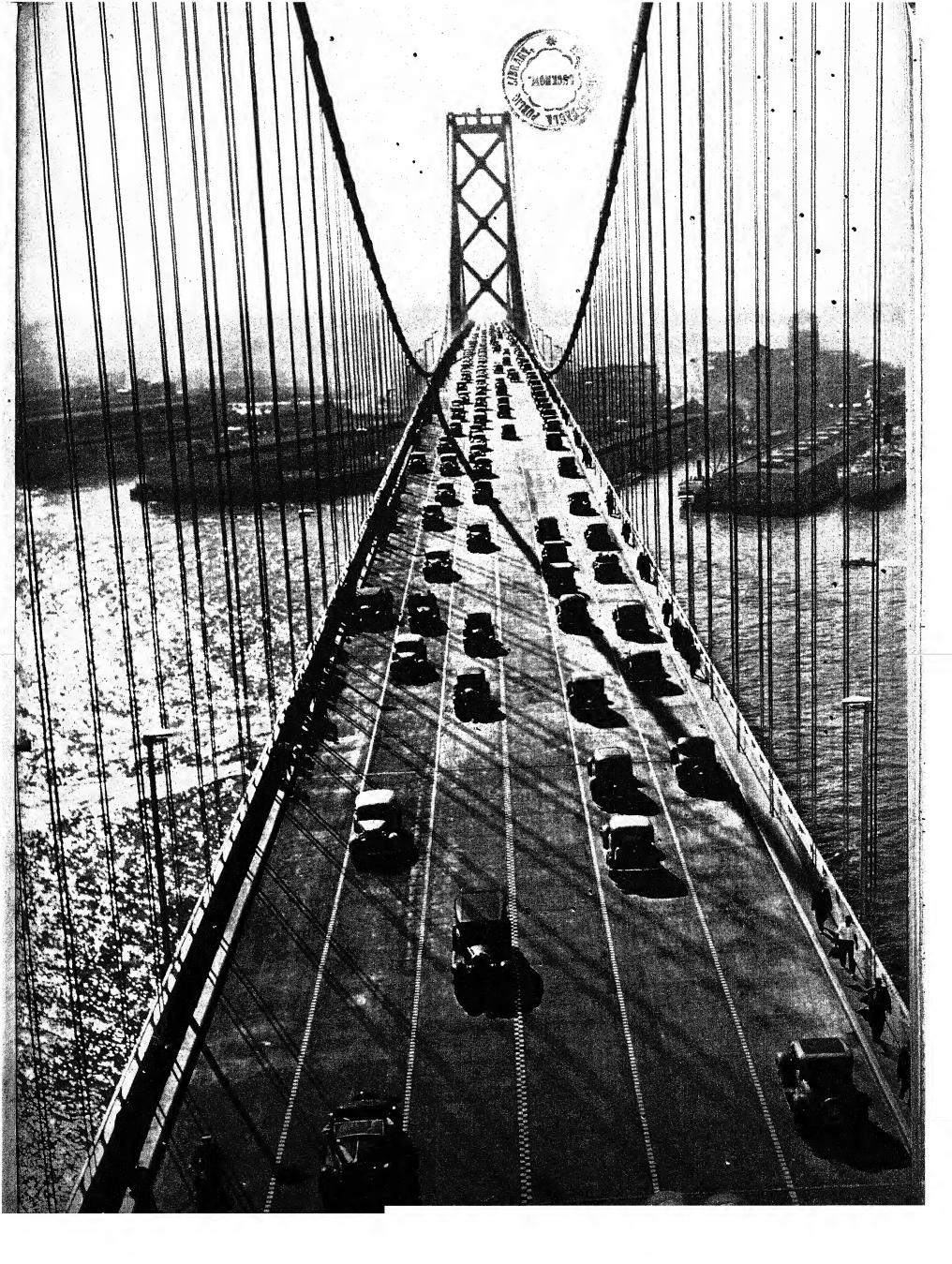
The Industrial Revolution in England (maps 43 and 44) typifies the great social symptom and pattern of human development in the XIXth century. The traditional rural population suddenly concentrated into a few industrial centres and, notwithstanding the strength of non-conformity, developed into a landless, unprotected and rebellious industrial proletariat. At the very end of the Romantic Era, when the children of the rich were learning to sing their sentimental ballads and were reading the works of Scott and Jules Verne, the children of the poor were beginning to work in the factories and four million Irishmen emigrated to the United States. The neo-Gothic churches and town halls rose among the sweatshops and the smoking chimneys of industrialized England, and not far off lay the slums of the proletariat.

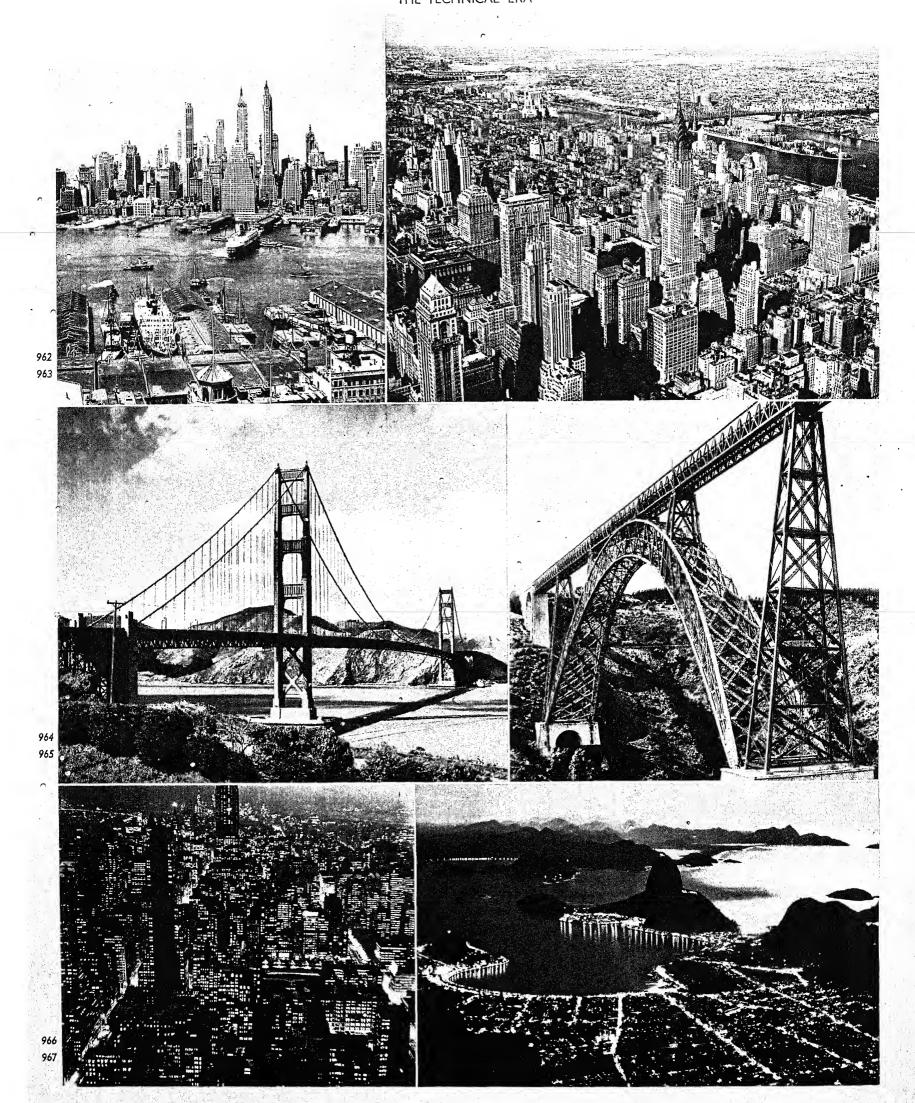




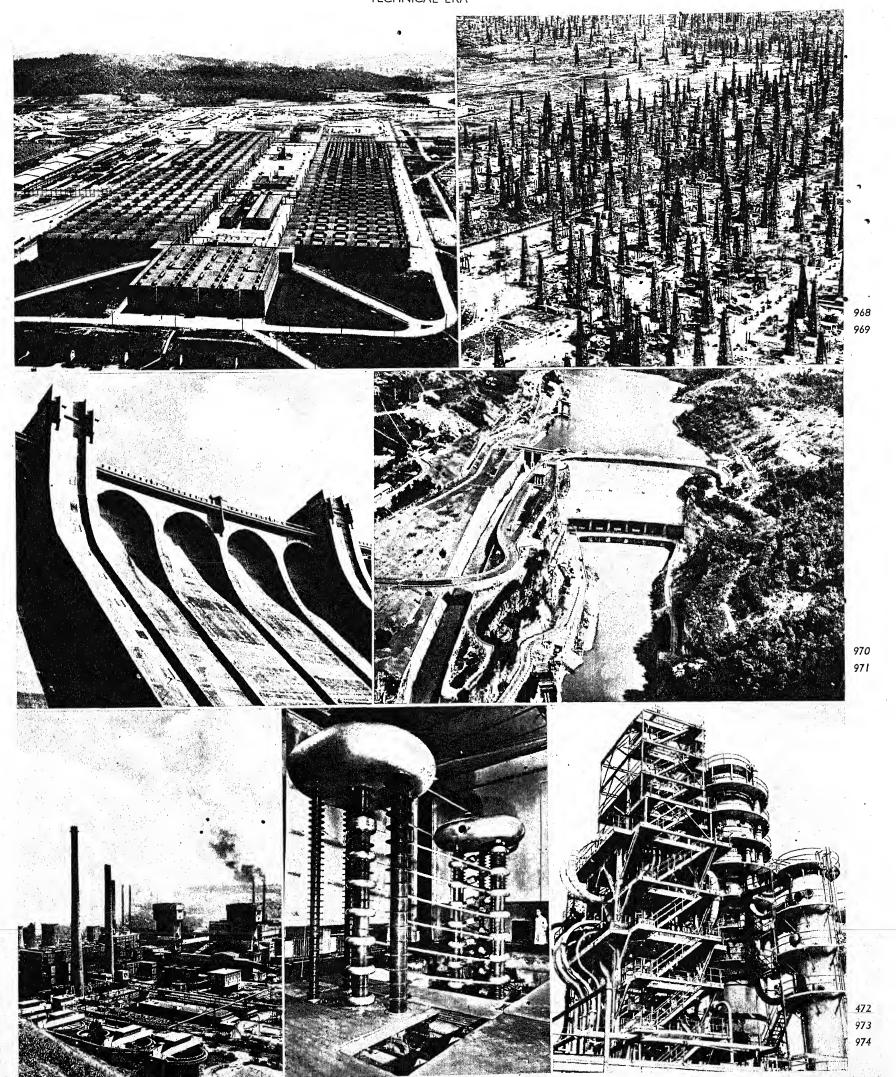




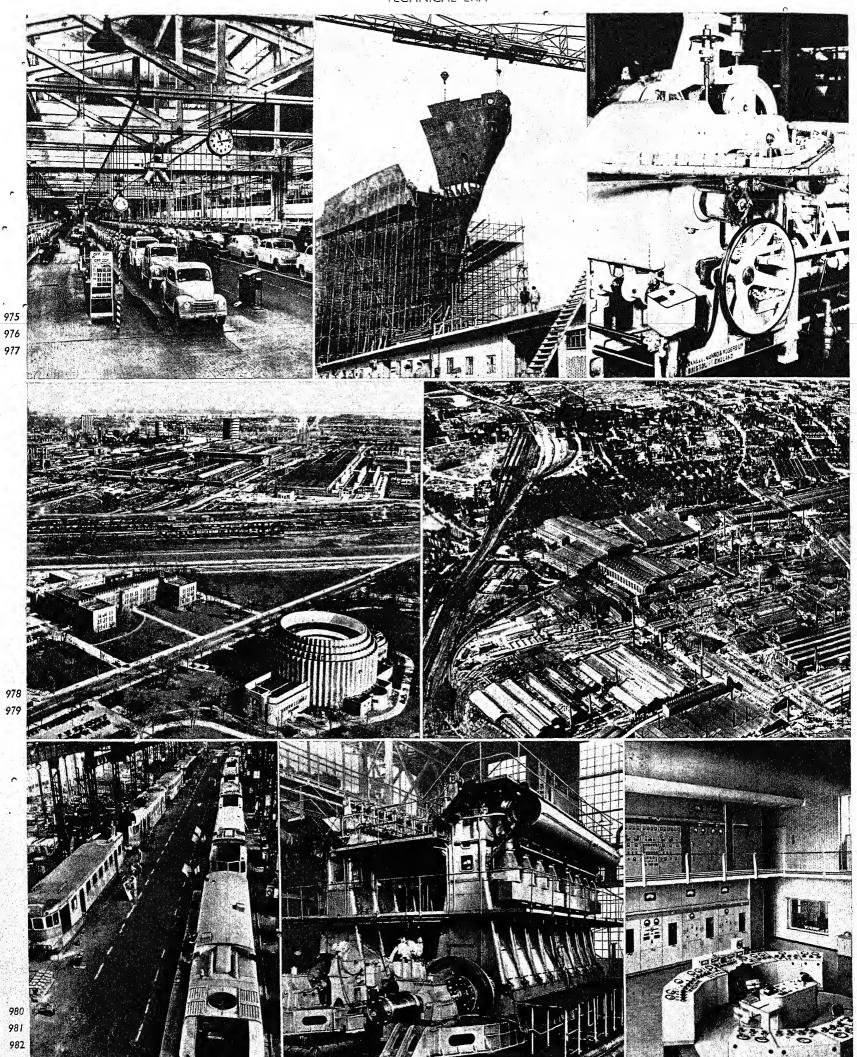




One of the most fantastic sights in the modern world is that of a gigantic American city, especially when seen by night from the air. The sight reveals at once the inhuman scale of present-day urban development. 962/ The centre of New York, from Brooklyn. Compare this with no. 498 (San Gimignano in the 13th century). 963/ Lower Manhattan, New York. The small strip of land which houses three million inhabitants. 964/ Bridge over the Golden Gate, San Francisco (1937). The towers are 227 metres high, the span is 1280 metres, and the cross section of the cables is 91 cm. 965/ Garabit Viaduct over the Truyère, on the Béziers-Clermont-Ferrand railwayline. Built by Eiffel in 1884. Length 564 m., height of central arch 122 m. 966/ New York by night, from the roof of the R.C.A. Building. 967/ Rio de Janeiro by night. Preceding page 961. San Francisco, Oakland Bay Bridge. Length 13 kilometres.

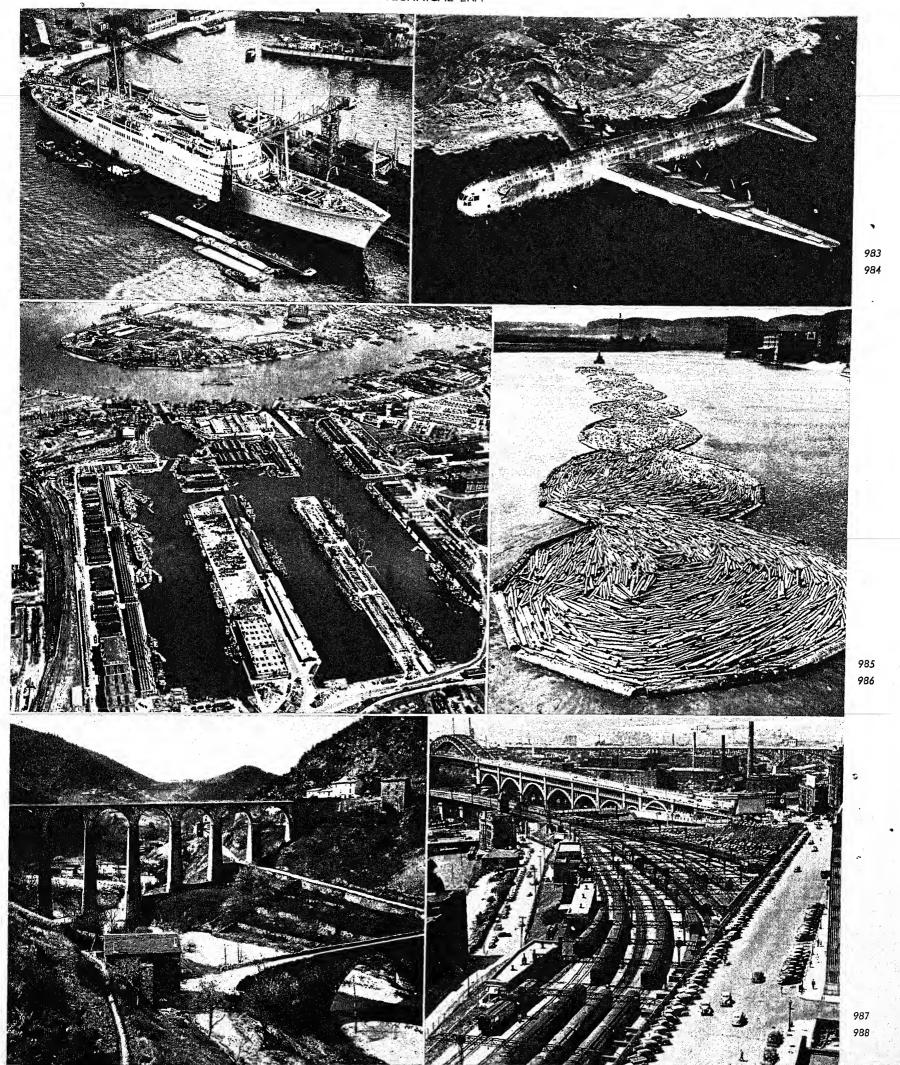


968 / Part of the atomic energy plant at Oakbridge, Tennessee. The whole covers an area of approx. 24,000 hectares. 969 / A forest of oil derricks at Long Beach, California. Oil was first discovered here in 1921. 970 / The Vesdre Barrage, near Eupen, Belgium. 971 / The Génissiat Barrage over the Rhone, north of Lyons. Height 104 m., length 140 m., area of lake discovered here in 1921. 970 / The Vesdre Barrage, near Eupen, Belgium. 971 / The Génissiat Barrage over the Rhone, north of Lyons. Height 104 m., length 140 m., area of lake 350 hectares, quantity of concrete used in construction 670,000 cubic metres. This barrage produces approx. 1,500 million kilowatt hours of current per year. 972 / The Maurits State 350 hectares, quantity of concrete used in construction 670,000 cubic metres. This barrage produces approx. 1,500 million kilowatt hours of current per year. 972 / The Maurits State 350 hectares, quantity of concrete used in construction 670,000 cubic metres. This barrage produces approx. 1,500 million kilowatt hours of current per year. 972 / The Maurits State 350 hectares, quantity of concrete used in construction 670,000 cubic metres. This barrage produces approx. 1,500 million kilowatt hours of current per year. 972 / The Maurits State 350 hectares, quantity of concrete used in construction 670,000 cubic metres. This barrage produces approx. 1,500 million kilowatt hours of current per year. 972 / The Maurits State 350 hectares, quantity of concrete used in construction 670,000 cubic metres. This barrage produces approx. 1,500 million kilowatt hours of current per year. 972 / The Maurits State 350 hectares, quantity of concrete used in construction 670,000 cubic metres. This barrage produces approx. 1,500 million kilowatt hours of current per year. 972 / The Maurits State 350 hectares, quantity of concrete used in construction 670,000 cubic metres. This barrage produces approx. 1,500 million kilowatt hours of current per year. 972 / The Maurits State 350 hectares, quantity of concrete used in construct

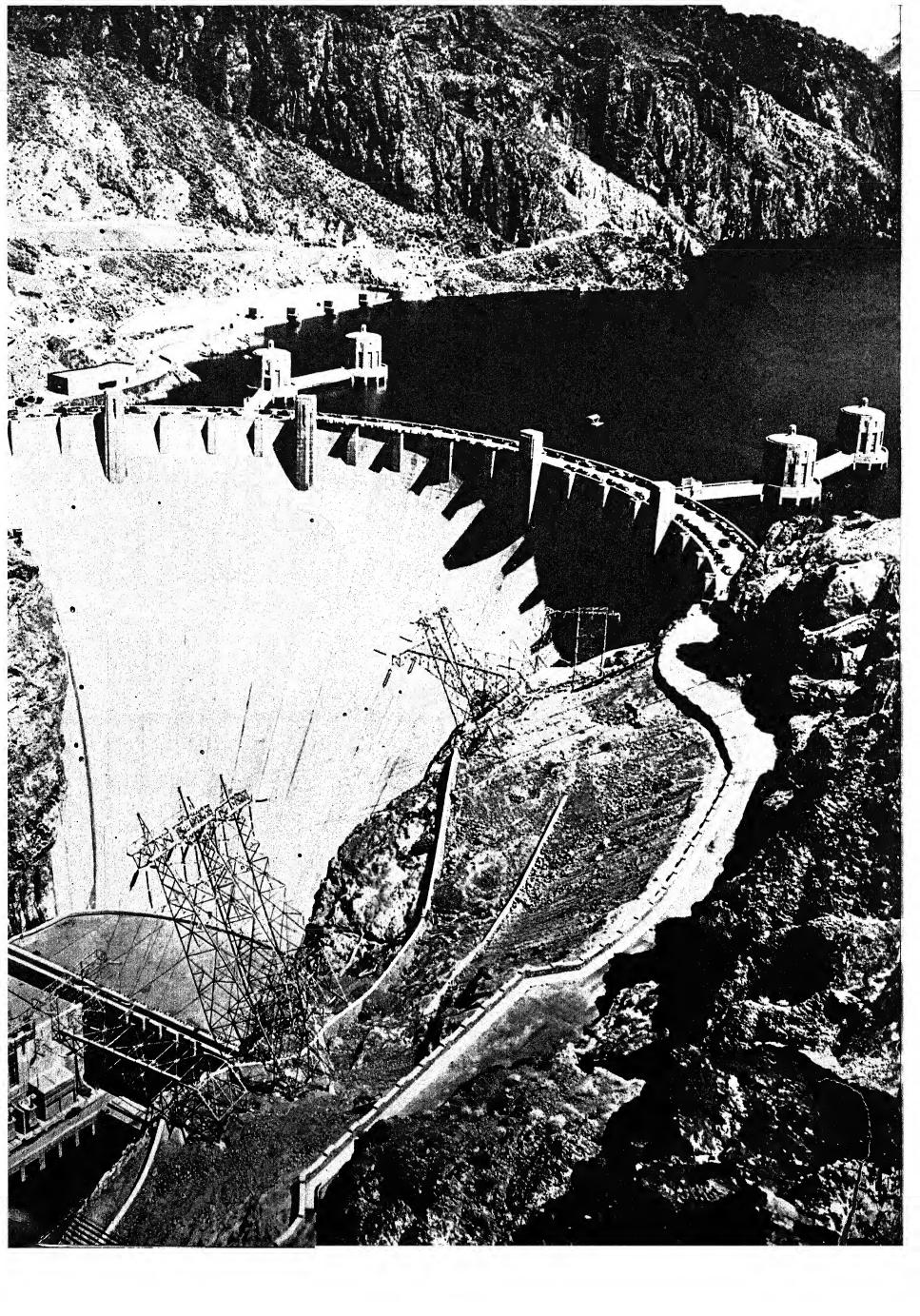


975/ Assembly-hall of the Fiat-Mirafiori motor factory at Turin. Floor space 375,000 sq.m.; length of factory 740 m.; number of workers 22,000. 976/ Fitting the bows of the pre-fabricated French tanker "Kirkouk" at the Amsterdam shippards. 977/ Automatic machine made in England for the weighing and packing of margarine. It can handle 60 packets a minute. 978/ The Rouge, the Ford city near Detroit, It covers an area of 485 hectares and includes a harbour, furnaces, factories, assembly-halls, laboratories, schools and recreation facilities for its 75,000 employees. 979/ The Krupp steel factory at Essen, before the Second World War. Formerly the centre of German armament manufacture, it now produces engines and tractors. 980/ Assembly-hall for "autorails", Renault factory, Billancourt-Seine. 981/ Two eight cylinder ship's Diesel motors. 982/ One of the two 120 kw. medium-wave transmitters at Lopik, for Hilversum I and II Radiostations.

[cf. maps 47 and 52]



983/ The Steamship "Oslofjord" (16,500 tons), flagship of the Norwegian merchant fleet. Length 148 m., breadth 22 m. Built in 1949. 984/ The Convair XC-99, military transport plane. Can carry 400 soldiers or 45,000 kg, of equipment. Radius of action 13,000 km., wing-span 70 m., cruising speed 480 km. per hour. 985/ West India Docks, London (first opened 1802). Area of basin 38 hectares, length of quays 6 km. 986/ Timber for the Canadian paper industry, which produces 60% of the world's newsprint. 987/ Pont de Duzon, over the River Duzon (Ardèche, to the west of Valence, South of France). 988/ Cleveland, Ohio. Communications centre: the lines of seven railway companies and six highways meet here. Overleaf: 989/ The Hoover Dam, Colorado (1935). The largest dam in the world. It provides water and electricity for part of the states of Nevada, Arizona and California.



By 1900 the appearance of most of the great countries has undergone the same transformation. The old cities have partly become museums and the millions of workers are concentrated around the great mining and industrial centres. Though still a treasure-house of historic monuments, and still possessing idyllic valleys and happy country backwaters, the West has become a chain

of industrial centres knit together by railways. The highlights of the universities are no longer the lecture-rooms of the philologists but the laboratories and the clinics (map 46); and the industrial masses are for the most part no longer inspired by traditional beliefs but by the prophetic gospel of the first socialists.

THE TECHNICAL ERA

The predominating outward manifestation of our present day civilization is without doubt that of technical science. The leading spirits of our time are far more concerned with the technical apparatus which covers the whole world (for the time of the 'closed' world has certainly begun) than with unproductive creations of beauty or of pure thought. It would seem that the climax reached in the previous century can still be superseded and that our technical civilization, which has now spread to every corner of the globe, has now its first great opportunity to show its full capabilities and to create its own distinctive style of life.

But, on the other hand, blind faith in technical science and the faith of a Renan or a Taine in the inevitability of progress have entirely disappeared. After the catastrophes of two world wars, and the subsequent revelation of the methods of totalitarian states, the West no longer believes in the fable of triumphant progress. Western Man has made a painful rediscovery of himself and of that element in humanity which he had chosen to forget the demonic. Man is at one and the same time too great, too good, and yet too wicked for the positivistic world picture, and he certainly does not fit the rôle for which he was cast by the Hegelians. Since then, the men with a message for the modern world have not been the positivists or the idealists, but the lonely and prophetic figures who have foretold the consequences of the XIXth. century outlook. It is men like Nietzsche, who dared to utter the truths that his bourgeois contemporaries would not face. It is Kierkegaard the Dane, who defied the omniscience of the theological professors and biblical exegetes, who found God again in the midst of his fear and trembling, and whose message today is brought to the Reformed Churches by Karl Barth. It is Newman, first a clergyman and later a Cardinal, who restored the existential knowledge of God and Man (he called it the 'illative sense') and who compelled the theologians both inside and outside his own Church to rethink their concepts.

It is Dostoievsky the Russian, who foresaw and embodied in his novels those consequences of Western positivism which we see before us today. It is men like these who have blazed the trail for the return of modern philosophers to the very roots of the problem of existence. The danger of the abstract is now recognized: the artists of the period after 1920 have recovered their respect for the elemental and for the mystery of humanity, and they have chosen either elementary reality or delicate evocation in preference to glossy pastiches of previous epochs. In some of the old lands, such as in France, the Church has become once more, like Christ Himself, a real and immediate

sign of contradiction – a revelation for one, a riddle for another, and a mystery for all. In the midst of a world that we assume to be post-Christian, Faith is stronger and more conscious than ever.

What remains today of the three roots of Western civilization? Historically speaking, our information concerning all three has never been more perfect. Prejudice against them is, in general, much more of a personal question than in the past. Faith, for instance, is no longer ignored; it is either professed, or else attacked and persecuted and eliminated under every possible pretext. The 'humanity' of Antiquity and the Christian Faith are only professed by individuals and groups, and are no longer imposed from above on the majority. Take, for instance, the question of education. A hundred years ago it was considered that anyone who was imbued with the classical heritage, tempered consciously or unconsciously by the Christian tradition, was fit to take up any administrative position in the British Empire or in the Third Republic. Nowadays it would appear that future officials have to undergo uniform tests to determine their technical and 'psychological' aptitude. In how many fields indeed, even outside the world of entertainment, are the standards set by the mass – in other words by the 'sub'-human?

Yet Western Man has always been opposed to what is hostile to pure humanity. What he is prepared to preserve and to defend to the last are ultimately the same values as those for which Leonidas and his men at Thermopylae and the Christians under the Emperor Diocletian unhesitatingly gave their lives. Western Man knows that such values may be unpractical and of no economic or material value, but that they are the most precious and satisfying. What then are these values? The greatest possible personal freedom; an attitude of mind that derives from a combination of wonder and reverence for every positive reality; and above all, those primary human feelings by which man can alone reach God – faith and love.

Western Man sets no store by deafening speeds or by the technical tricl's which bring sounds and pictures over the ether into his very home. Were he to do so, he would become more wretched than any slave in the Ancient World. For the latter served at least a human master, but modern man would become the slave of a relentless machine, and ultimately the slave of the most monstrous of all machines, the totalitarian State. The Ancients, the Classics, the Scriptures and the Church can teach modern man to change the technical era into a community of men who, though technically expert, are nevertheless fully developed human personalities — or at any rate they can teach him to live like a man in the midst of the depersonalized mass.

COLOPHON

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EXPLANATORY NOTE

This index includes geographical names (towns, cities, countries etc.), proper names and the names of historical concepts. Place-names are always followed by the country and county or province to which they belong. Place-names from classical geography or other names which are no longer current are usually followed by their modern equivalent, e.g. Cantuaria (Canterbury). Such place-names are also followed by the historical name for the country in which they are situated, e.g. Cantuaria (Canterbury), Britannia, Map 14, 15. In such cases the modern name either follows immediately after, e.g. (England), or else may be ascertained by consulting the cross-reference Britannia.

Place-names in France are generally distinguished by the name of the département in which they lie, e.g. Candes, Indre-et-Loire; in England by the county, e.g. Eton, Buckingham; and in the U.S.A. by the state, e.g. Trenton, New Jersey. French départements are given on map 34, English counties on map 46 and American states on map 52.

Place-names prefixed by Saint, Sankt, Santo and Sint are given

under St.; the prefixes San and Sao are given under S. In order to avoid a large series of numbers, place-names which occur frequently are indicated by passim after the number of the first map on which they are to be found.

Place-names and surnames beginning with Le or La are entered under these prefixes respectively, e.g. La Coruña under La, and Le Corbusier under Le. Dutch surnames beginning with Van of De, however, are entered under the last part of the name, e.g. Van Gogh under Gogh, De Groot under Groot. Names of saints are entered under the first letter of their name and not under S. or St. Artists are usually entered under the first letter of their surname, except when they are better known by their Christian name, e.g. Rembrandt.

Historical information concerning persons and places (e.g. dates and monuments) is usually not repeated in the index when already given on the maps themselves. Descriptions of style etc. are given very briefly since they are explained more fully in the text.

ABBREVIATIONS

Arab. = Arabian. arch. = architect. astron. = astronomer. Austr. = Austrian. auth. = author. b. = born. bp. = bishop. Byz. = Byzantine. ca = circa. cat. = catacomb. cath. = cathedral. ch. = church. class. = classical. comp. = composer. Const. = Constantinople. d. = died. da. = daughter. descr. = described, description. dipl. = diplomat. doct. = doctor (medical). dyn. = dynasty. eccl. = ecclesiastical. Eg. = Egypt, Egyptian. Emp. = Emperor, Empire. Eng. = England, English. e.p. = endpaper (front). f. = founded, founder. Fr. = France, French. geog. = geographer. Germ. = German. Gr. = Greece, Greek. hist. = historian. hum. = humanist, humanistic. inscr. = inscription. Isl. = Islam, Islamic. It. = Italy, Italian. k. = king. L. = Lake. Luth. = Lutheran. Mah. = Mahomet,

Mahometan. mart. = martyr. math. = mathematician. mon. = monastery, convent. myst. = mystic, mysticism. Neth. = The Netherlands, Netherlandish. OC = Cistercian. OCarm. = Carmelite. OCarth. = Carthusian. OFM = Franciscan. OF = Dominican. OSB = Benedictine. p. = page. phil. = philosopher. phys. = physicist. pol. = politician, statesman. prob. = probably. prov. = province. psychol. = psychologist. R.C. = Roman Catholic. Ren. = Renaissance. rel. = religious. Rom. = Roman. rom. = romanesque. Rum. = Rumanian, Rumania. Russ. = Russian. sav. = savant. schol. = scholastic, scholasticism. sculpt. = sculptor. SJ = Jesuit.Sp. = Spain, Spanish. Switz. = Switzerland. theol. = theologian, theological. US = American. wr. = writer, wrote.

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